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LUCIANO PETECH

CENTRAL TIBET AND THE MONGOLS

THE YÜAN - SA-SKYA PERIOD OF TIBETAN HISTORY



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FOREWORD

My interest in Tibetan history of the Yüan period dates back to 1978, when I participated in the Issaquah conference on "Multi-State relations in East Asia, 10th–13th centuries". The paper I contributed on that occasion was published in the volume *China among Equals*, University of California Press 1983. It was a preliminary and somewhat premature introduction to the subject. I continued to cultivate that field, and this book represents the final summing-up of my researches and of my views on several particular aspects of Tibetan history of the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is my hope that this volume will offer to the public a balanced view of the rather complicated Central Tibetan polity and institutions of the Yüan period, at the same time exorcizing the ghosts of non-existing "viceroys of Tibet" that has been haunting our scientific landscape for these last years.

Looking back to the slow and laborious progress of my work, I am acutely aware that the very nature of the available texts brought with itself the danger of allowing undue weight and space to the rise of P'ag-mo-gru, to the detriment of events and personalities of the Yüan-Sa-skya regime. But there is no way of getting round Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's autobiography, an amazing literary work and by far the fullest and most detailed source for the second and third quarter of the 14th century. I tried my best to avoid this pitfall, but it is up to fellow-scholars working in the same field to tell me whether I have succeeded. Their considered criticism will be my best reward for this product of my life evening.

March 1990

LUCIANO PETECH

Chapter I.

INTRODUCTION: THE SOURCES

This volume is intended to present the results of a long research, of which some essays have been already offered to the public during these last years, in the form of articles or of contributions to conference proceedings.

My work does not claim to be exhaustive. Its aim is to present an all-round picture of events and developments during the period of Tibetan history characterized by a peculiar form of partnership between the Mongol emperors and the Sa-skya monastery. Since the process leading to the formation of this relationship is fairly well known, the emphasis is laid rather on the institutional frame and on the culmination, decay and end of the regime, these subjects having attracted less attention by modern scholars.

Our knowledge of this century-and-a-half of Tibetan history derives almost exclusively from Tibetan and Chinese sources; the Mongol texts are late and secondary, being mostly derived from Tibetan originals. The parallel utilization of the two sets is the only profitable way for reconstructing events and institutions. One serious difficulty lying in our path is the totally different character of the two components.

Chinese sources are represented mainly by the official history of the Yüan dynasty (*YS*); other sources of the same period are of little help. It is superfluous to insist here on the drawbacks of the *YS*, due to its hasty compilation. Beyond that lies the basic fact that, in the words of E. Balázs, the Chinese dynastic histories are written by officials for officials, with all the peculiar mentality and interests this implies. The annalistic sections (*pen-chi*) contain few items related to Central Tibet, but they are useful for determining the dates. The monographs on administration (ch. 60 and 87) are somewhat confused, possibly because they mix together offices and institutions created at different times, and also because it is still difficult to determine the actual functions performed by the numerous offices that made up the Yüan peripheral administration.

Ch. 203, dedicated to Buddhism and dealing also with 'P'ags–pa, the *ti–shih* and other Buddhist personalities, is a particularly slipshod piece of work and its chronology in some cases is palpably incorrect.

The Tibetan historical works can be divided into three main classes: hagiographies (*rnam t'ar*), genealogies (*gdun rabs*) and histories of the dynasties (*rgyal rabs*) or of religion (*c'os 'byun*). Of these, the first category is concerned normally only with the studies, initiations and spiritual development of their heroes; secular matters are but marginal. The genealogical works are most useful, although in many cases they dwindle down to mere lists of names and bodily or spiritual relationships, with few if any dates and sketchy historical materials. The third class is usually of a too general character to be of any use; this is the case for the histories of Bu–ston (1323), of bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an (1368/9) and of Padma–dkar–po (1575). A notable exception is the chronicle of the Fifth Dalai–Lama (*HT5D*: 1643), which has largely copied the *GBYT*, but sometimes contains information not found elsewhere.

Besides the *GR* of bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an, two sources of the 14th century have come down to us. One is the *Hu lan deb t'er (HD)*, incorrectly also called *Deb t'er dmar po*, written by the 'Ts'al–pa *k'ri dpon* Kun–dga'–rdo–rje (1309–1364); he began his work in 1346 and finished it, as it seems, in 1363. It was published twice. First at Gangtok in 1961 from a single manuscript belonging to Rai Bahadur Densapa, and again at Peking in 1981 by Duṅ–dkar Blo–bzaṅ–'p'rin–las, who also added to the text numerous (683) notes of various value. This edition was based on nine mss. preserved at Lhasa and at Peking. It is a *recensio longior*, containing in addition a chapter on the transmission of the Doctrine and of the Vinaya, another on the Karma–pa sect and a third on the 'Ts'al–pa school. While the first and third certainly belong to the original text, the chapter on the Karma–pa is disproportionately long (almost a quarter of the whole book) and not quite in harmony with the structure of the work; it looks as a later addition. Its relationship with the first portion of *KARMA* is unmistakable, but I am not prepared to decide whether this section was copied from *KARMA* or the other way round. I think it advisable to treat this section of *HD* as an independent work (*HD–2*).

Far more useful than the rather sketchy *HD* is the *Si tu'i bka' c'ems* (*LANG*), the so-called last will of Ta'i-si-tu Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an (1302–1364), the founder of the P'ag-mo-gru dynasty. It is preceded by a section dealing with the mythical origin of the family called *rLaṅs Po ti bse ru*, a title which often covers both parts. It represents our main source for the final years of Sa-skya power. Actually the political testament of the Ta'i-si-tu occupies only the last pages, the bulk of the work being a detailed account of his political activity down to 1361.

The earliest and by far the most valuable of the non-contemporary sources is the *rGya Bod yig ts'aṅ* (*GBYT*), composed by Śrībhūtibhadra in 1434 and brilliantly studied twenty-five years ago by Mme. Macdonald (Spanien). In several cases it ranks as an original source, being based upon lost texts of the Yüan period, such as the *Ta Yüan t'ung-chih*.

Some standard texts of the 15th and 17th centuries supply independent evidence. Such are the *Deb t'er sṅon po* by gŽon-nu-dpal (1476–78), the *Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma* by bSod-nams-grags-pa (1529), the *Sa skya'i gduṅ rabs* by Kun-dga'-bsod-nams-grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1629) and the *Karma Kaṃ ts'aṅ brgyud pa* by Si-tu Paṇ-c'en C'os-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas (1775). Later general texts such as Sum-pa mK'an-po and the *Hor C'os-'byuṅ* have no independent value and are not utilized in the present study.

The family chronicles, such as BYANG and NYOS, concentrate on genealogical matters and usually give few details.

The Ža-lu Documents (*ŽL*), issued by the Imperial Preceptors at the capital in favour of the Ža-lu myriarchs, are invaluable as a help to understand the actual working of the imperial administration in Tibet.

Lastly, a small group of sources is represented by the adresses of letters and tracts by 'P'ags-pa and by the colophons of translated or revised works in the Kangyur and Tangyur.

A synthesis of all these materials is beset with several difficulties. They reveal not only different outlooks, but even two opposite mentalities: the one (Chinese) dry, matter-of-fact, bureaucratic, the other (Tibetan) unworldly and monastical (with the partial exception of *LANG* and *GBYT*). They seem to consistently ignore each other. One example in point is that, with the exception of

'P'ags–pa, the only monks to whom biographies are dedicated in the Chinese texts appear (if at all) as pale and obscure personalities in the Tibetan sources; at times it is even difficult to identify them.

CHAPTER II.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YÜAN – SA-SKYA PARTNERSHIP

II.1 – *The beginnings (to 1260)*

The rising Mongol power was faced almost at once with the problem of devising a system of relations with the organized religions in the newly-conquered territories. As far as China is concerned, this question has been repeatedly treated[1] and all we need here is a bare outline of the main developments.

The first step was made in 1219, when general Muqali, who was holding the Peking region against the resurging power of the J̌určen, brought Hai-yün (1202–1257), a young Ch'an monk of the Lin-chi school, to the attention of Činggis Khan, then campaigning in Central Asia. On this occasion the emperor granted to the Chinese Buddhist monks exemption from taxes and corvées, a privilege which his successors consistently renewed and confirmed. In 1242 Hai-yün entered into a special relationship with prince Qubilai (1219–1294) and became the religious teacher of his son J̌ingim, who later became the heir-apparent. In 1247 the *qayan* Güyük placed him at the head of the Buddhist clergy in North China, and upon his accession in 1251 Möngke confirmed him in office.

Almost at the same time a rather mysterious personality appeared on the scene; this was Na-mo, a man from the Western Countries, perhaps a Kashmiri or possibly a Tibetan. In 1247 he received the rank of State Preceptor (*kuo-shih*), and in 1252 Möngke charged him with the administration of Buddhist affairs in the whole empire, either as a superior to Hai-yün or superseding him; in any case, the latter fades out of the picture after that date. Na-mo headed the Buddhist delegation in the first and second debate against the Taoists, held at the presence of Möngke in 1255

[1] Ratchnevsky 1954; Demiéville 1957.

and 1256. After their conclusion he was entrusted with the task of carrying out the imperial decisions against the Taoists; prince Qubilai, who governed the Mongol dominions in North China and who was the immediate authority in this case, gave him as colleague his protegee, the young Tibetan 'P'ags-pa. Na-mo participated also in the third and last debate (1258) convoked by Qubilai. And that is the last we hear about him.

A few years later a regular governmental agency for Buddhism was established (see below, III.1). It was placed in the hands not of Chinese monks, but of Tibetans, whom Qubilai and his successors utilized as their instruments in this particular field.

The first contacts between Mongols and Tibetans have been traced by me elsewhere[2] and in this case too I shall merely summarize my earlier conclusions.

The first Tibetan monks encountered by Činggis Khan were gTsaṅ-pa Duṅ-k'ur-ba and six disciples of his. He met them perhaps still in Mongolia (1209–10), but more probably in the Tangut kingdom (1215), where he spoke with them through an interpreter[3].

According to a later Mongol tradition, in 1206 Činggis Khan marched againts a king of Tibet, who surrendered; then the conqueror sent a letter to the abbot of Sa-skya. A variant of the same tale is found in late Tibetan works such as the *dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ* and the *Hor C'os 'byuṅ*. All this has been shown conclusively to be a legend without historical foundation[4]. The next *qaγan* Ögödei, or rather his sister-in-law Sorγaqtani and her sons Möngke, Qubilai and Hülegü, invited to the imperial camp the Lama Guṅ-t'aṅ-pa and entertained him for some times. According to the Tibetans, " this was the beginning of the quest of religion by the Mongols "[5]. The influence of this abbot may have

[2] Petech 1983, 179–181.

[3] *KPGT*, 793–794. This is the same as gTsaṅ-po-pa dKon-mc'og-seṅ-ge (d. 1218), on whom see *KARMA*, 28b, and Sperling 1988, 41.

[4] This was already the opinion of G. Tucci, *TPS*, 8–9, and of Okada. The question was discussed and finally decided by Kwanten, 15–17, and Wylie 1977, 105.

[5] *KPGT*, 793–794. This man is said to belong to the 'Ts'al-pa lineage. The abbots of 'Ts'al Guṅ-t'aṅ in Ögödei's times were Saṅs-rgyas-'bum (1224–1231), Saṅs-rgyas-sñiṅ-po (1231–1238) and Saṅs-rgyas-gžon-nu (1238–1260). However, neither the list of the abbots in *BA*, 716–717, nor the more detailed account of the 'Ts'al-pa in *HD-2*, 126–149, mention this event.

been responsible for the wholly Tibetan name Dorji (rDo–rje) given by Qubilai to his eldest son, born in 1242.

These harmless contacts, and even more the swiftly spreading accounts of Mongol conquests and atrocities, led to an increasing awareness in Tibet of the impending danger. Already in 1236 there were diffuse fears of an invasion; and when portents such as rainbow, thunder and earthquake seemed to usher it in, sTag–luṅ–t'aṅ–pa Rin–c'en–mgon (1190–1236) had to reassure the people of his region, "prophesying" that the Mongols would not come [6].

Nevertheless, the storm broke out a few years later. Tibet came within the range of Mongol expansion when in 1239 Ögödei's second son Köden was granted a large appanage, called Byaṅ–ṅos by the Tibetans, with headquarters at Liang–chou. He was placed there in the immediate neighbourhood of Tibetan countries such as the old kingdom of Tsoṅ–k'a, and on the well–frequented Northern commercial route; the traders surely supplied him with plenty of information. He also had at his service a man from dBus–gTsaṅ (Central Tibet) called Chao A–ko–p'an [7], Chao being a Chinese family name. Probably this man had settled in Liang–chou long before and had become sinicized. He too may have contributed to inform the prince on the Tibetan situation.

In 1240 Köden sent into Tibet a detachment under Dor–ta (Dorda), preceded by an advance force under Mi–li–byi. They penetrated as far south as Sog–c'u–k'a and the 'P'an–yul valley, causing great damage to the rGyal Lha–k'aṅ and Rva–sgreṅ monasteries [8].

The suggestion has been advanced that in 1240 or in the following few years a sort of conference of the Tibetan leaders had convened, which decided to delegate the Sa–skya abbot to try to

[6] Life of sTag–lun–t'aṅ–pa in *CBGT*, ÑA, 54a–b.

[7] *YS*, 123.3028.

[8] *KPGT*, 407, 409, 449, 794 (where the name is spelt Dor–tog); *DMS*, 181; *PMKP*, 281a. According to another text Dorda conscribed labour as far south as gÑal, Lo–ro and Byar–po; *LANG*, 231. This dovetails with another vague piece of information. Bya Rin–c'en, the head of a family wielding great influence in E, dMyal (= gÑal), Byar, Dags–po and Lo–ro, repelled the Mongol invaders and was recognized as chief of all the above–mentioned districts; *BA*, 1088. It seems, however, hardly credible that this first inroad could reach the deep South, and I suspect here a confusion with other Mongol expeditions, such as that of 1290, which actually penetrated in those regions.

reach an agreement with the Mongols[9]. Our sources do not support this hypothesis, at least not in this form. We know, however, that shortly before the first coming of the Mongols Central Tibet had been rent by serious internal conflicts, in which rGyal-ba Yaṅ-dgon-pa (1213–1258) acted as peacemaker[10]. Internal strife, coupled with the fear of further devastating raids, may well have brought about a tacit or expressed general agreement that somebody had to start talking with the Mongols. A negotiator, even if self-appointed, could be sure to interpret the fears and hopes of the Tibetans; and this helps to explain how the Sa-skya Paṇḍita could stand forth as their representative.

The facts are well known and can be sumarized as follows. When Dor-ta reached 'Dam, the Rva-sgreṅ monastery escaped destruction. Its abbot, perhaps afraid of being "invited" to the Mongol camp, suggested to the invaders the name of Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an (1182–1251), usually called Sa-skya Paṇḍita (or Sa Paṇ in short), who was famous and popular as author and as religious leader. In 1244 Köden summoned him to Byaṅ-ṅos (Liang-chou)[11]. The abbot started in the same year, traveling very slowly and leisurely in the company of his two nephews 'P'ags-pa and P'yag-na-rdo-rje. Having arrived at Liang-chou in the 8th month of 1246, he had to wait there for Köden, who had gone to Central Mongolia to participate in the *quriltai* which selected Güyük as the new *qayan*. Prince and abbot met in the first month of 1247, and from this year we may date the Sa-skya – Mongol connection which was going to shape the destiny of Tibet for the following hundred years.

Apparently Sa-skya Paṇḍita had not come alone, if we have to trust a short allusion to a class of people or a clan whom he had brought along to Liang-chou. In his letter adressed to the leaders of Tibet (on which see below) he states: "I have offered my submission bringing with me the Bi-ri"[12]. We do not know who they were; but we shall meet with them again presently.

We can pass over the pious account of the successful religious

[9] *TPS*, 8.

[10] Biography of Glaṅ-doṅ-ba (i.e. rGyal-ba Yaṅ-dgon-pa) in *CBGT*, ÑA, 37a–b.

[11] *BA*, 211; *KPGT*, 449, 751, 794; *KARMA*, 62a; *SKDR*, 49b. Schuh 1977, 31–41, has shown that the letter of summons dispatched by Köden is a later fabrication.

[12] *Sa-skya bka'-'bum*, vol. V, 215b; *SKDR*, 58b.

activity of Sa–skya Paṇḍita in Byaṅ–ṅos and of his healing Köden from a serious illness. Limiting ourselves to the political aspects, as a result of the talks the abbot took up the role of an agent of the Mongol policy in his home country. He sent a long circular letter to the ecclesiastical and lay authorities of Tibet. It was a real political manifesto laying out the conditions required by Köden and the Mongols in order to spare Tibet other devastating invasions. There was to be, first of all, an unconditional acceptation of Mongol sovereignty by the ecclesiastical and secular lords (*dpon*) of Tibet. Henceforward their authority would depend on the recognition and formal appointment by the Mongols. A census was to be carried out, and the lists of the lords, their subjects and the tribute due by each of them were to be made out in three copies, one to be handed over to Köden, another to be preserved at Sa–skya and the third to be kept by the lord himself. The lords were to carry out the administration of their fiefs in consultation with the envoys (*gser yig pa*) of Sa–skya and in conformance with Mongol law. Tribute and taxes were to be levied by the Mongols, seconded by Sa–skya officials. All these requirements were to be met at once and without demur, as resistance had been shown to be useless. The manifesto closed with the specification of the kind of local produce to be delivered as tribute[13].

This document tried to put forward Sa–skya as the sole representative (except for financial matters) of Mongol interests in Tibet; the position of the abbot was going to be that of a feudatory chief under Mongol suzerainty. This was in accordance with the normal policy of the Mongols in the countries where they did not think it suitable and convenient to impose their direct rule. They accepted the local ruler, subject and responsible to the imperial authority; and where no responsible chief existed, they endeavoured to set up one, as in the present instance.

But the line which the document traced for the future remained largely a mere theory, and the political developments at first followed another path. When the Mongol – Sa–skya partnership

[13] The letter, dated 1249 according to the *Re'u-mig*, 26, is found in the *Sa–skya bka'–'bum*, vol. V, 214b–217a, and in *SKDR*, 57b–59b. Translation in *TPS*, 8–10. A detailed summary is given in Schuh 1976, 230–233, n. 20.

eventually became a reality, it was something different, with a much deeper commitment of the *qayan's* ruling powers.

And indeed at this point the general situation underwent a radical change. Güyük died in 1248, Möngke was elected as his successor in July 1251, Sa-skya Paṇḍita died on 28th November 1251 in the sPrul-pa'i-sde temple at Liang-chou, which still contains his relics[14]. The empire passed out of Ogödei's line and relations with Tibet took a new turn, excluding from the game Sa-skya for some time, and Köden and Ögödei's line forever.

Möngke was an able ruler and a stern disciplinarian, whose general policy was one of centralization and of tight control over the territories (*ulus*) governed by the branches of Čaγatai and Ögödei; only J̌öči's branch, represented by Batu and his successors, had to be handled with caution[15]. Notwithstanding his hard grip on the government of the empire, he accepted and even fostered the system of princely appanages (Mong. *qubi*, Chin. *fen-ti*), deeply rooted in the traditions of his family[16].

The new emperor showed at once an interest in things Tibetan. As he expected to embark soon on large scale campaigns in Iran and North China, he had no intention to introduce direct rule in Tibet. On the other side he apparently considered Sa-skya Paṇḍita's compact with Köden a sort of private agreement, not binding the emperor. He took another way and decided to delegate the exercise of Mongol authority, newly backen and hitherto little more than theoretical, to the members of his family.

In the very year of his accession (1251), and perhaps even before the death of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, he carried out a distribution of appanages in Tibet. This is known to us through Tibetan sources only, no hint of it being found in Chinese or Mongol texts. The Tibetans looked at the matter (then as now) purely under the religious angle. For them, it was not an introduction of Mongol quasi-feudalism, but simply the establishment of a *yon-mc'od* relation (patron-protegee, donor-recipient, pupil-master) between Mongol princes and Tibetan schools and monasteries, a type of relation-

[14] *GBYT*, II, 15b. On the 'P'rul-pa'i-sde see *TPS*, 680 n. 40.

[15] On the basic principles of Möngke's policy see Allsen, 45–76.

[16] Möngke's decree on the Tibetan appanages is recalled in LANG, 240. On the princely appanages in China and their administration see Endicott-West, 89–103.

ship known to them since old times. By this arrangement the *qa-γan* himself "protected" the 'Bri–guṅ–pa and the gTsaṅ mGur–mo–ba (otherwise unknown). The Sa–skya–pa continued in the care of Köden, no special position being reserved to them. The 'Ts'al–pa were entrusted to Qubilai; the sTag–luṅ–pa were protected by Ariq–böge; the P'ag–mo–gru–pa were under the jurisdiction of Hülegü; other princes were granted other territories, so that in the end there were more than eleven appanages[17]. These "patronages" were no mere honorary titles, but included administrative and military powers, exercised by local representatives (*yul bsruṅs*) of the princes. Regrettably, we have no direct evidence about the functioning of this system, except for the appanage of Hülegü, to which we shall return later.

This distribution was reshuffled during the following few years. Köden, who in 1253 had to hand over Sa–skya Paṇḍita's two nephews to Qubilai, died at an unknown date after that year. His descendants were not allowed to inherit his appanage of Liang–chou and were no longer connected with Tibet[18]. Ariq–böge's rights in Tibet vanished upon the outbreak of the civil war and were ended after his defeat and surrender in 1264. Of the other appanages we know nothing, except for Hülegü. In the *quriltai* of 1253 he had been entrusted with the command of the Mongol army in Iran; he moved slowly, crossing the Amu–darya as late as the 2nd January 1256. He continued, however, to maintain his connection with the P'ag–mo–gru–pa and repeatedly sent presents to their abbot rGyal–ba Rin–po–c'e (on the see 1235–1267)[19]. His successors, the Ilkhans of Iran, followed the same policy. They kept their representatives in the P'ag–mo–gru fief and built and endowed Buddhist temples in their Iranian territories. Khan Arghun (1284–1291) was surrounded by Buddhist monks, some of them Tibetans. After his death, however, the Ilkhans accepted Islam and in 1295–96 Buddhism was suppressed and its temples and

[17] *KPGT*, 449, 794 (with the incorrect date 1239, rectified by Schuh 1977, xxi–xxii); *LANG*, 232–234, 236, 445–476.

[18] Okada, 101–102.

[19] *BA*, 580; *KPGT*, 409. The last presents from Hülegü reached P'ag–mo–gru in 1267, two years after the death of the donor; *HD–I*, 37a. Hülegü was much respected by the Tibetans, who considered him a manifestation of gNam–t'e; *PMKP*, 282a. gNam–t'eb was the name under which Pe–har was known to the Hor.

monasteries were destroyed[20]. The connection with Tibet had probably ceased before that.

Möngke exercised his supreme authority as *qayan* by sketching out a general frame, within which the relations with the Tibetan clergy were to be conducted. He published a statement of his intentions in the form of an authoritative decree (*'ja' sa bzaṅ po*)[21] issued apparently at the beginning of 1252. It renewed the usual privileges of fiscal exemption for the Buddhist monks and enjoined (perhaps on the recommendation of Köden) that the main precepts (*ṅo luṅ*) to be followed in religious matters were those of the Sa-skya school; all the monks were bound to follow them. He also expressed his intention to take a census of Tibet, clearly in the frame of the great census of the empire which was actually carried out in 1253[22].

Of course Möngke must have been aware that the Tibetan appanages would remain a theoretical fiction if he did not take measures to make his and the princes's authority recognized on the spot. Joining practical action to the proclamations, he set in motion a double invasion of T'u-fan, the term indicating not only Amdo as was later the case, but the whole Tibetan country behind it[23]. The first expeditionary corps, comanded by general Do-be-ta or Du-pe-ta Bā-dur (Dörbetei) started from Byaṅ-ṅos/Liang-

[20] *Cambridge History of Iran*, V, Cambridge 1968, 379–380, 541–543. Ghazan's edict of 1295 enjoined on the foreign monks: "Let those among you who wish it return to India, to Kashmir and to Tibet, and to the countries from where they came"; *ibid.*, 542.

[21] The Tibetan word *'ja' sa* transcribes Mongol *jasaq*, but is always used with the meaning of Mongol *jarliq*, "imperial decree".

[22] Möngke's decree is embedded in a circular letter sent by 'P'ags-pa to the clergy of dBus-gTsaṅ to inform them of the death of Sa-skya Paṇḍita; it is dated Liang-chou, 16th February 1252; *Sa-skya bka'-'bum*, vol. VI, 320b-321b (n. 306) and has been translated and commented upon by Szerb 1980a, 291–292. A shorter abstract of the same edict is contained in another letter sent by 'P'ags-pa to the *mk'an po* 'U-yug-pa bSod-nams-seṅ-ge on 14th February 1252 to invite him to Liang-chou; *Sa-skya bka'-'bum*, vol VI, 383b-384a (n. 316). The letter is reproduced with some variants in *SKDR*, 72b–73b, where the name of the adressee appears as C'os-rje Grags-pa-seṅ-ge. Cf. Schuh 1977, 101, and Szerb 1980a, 299 (n. 57).

[23] As I had occasion to point out some years ago, T'u-fan was not synonimous with Tibet. In T'ang times it indicated Tibet at large, i.e. the territories dominated by the *btsan po*. After 842 it was gradually restricted to the north-eastern fringe, i.e. Amdo. This was its meaning in the Sung official terminology, which was accepted also by the Mongols. When Central Tibet came into their range of view, they adopted for it the new name Wu-ssu-tsang, i.e. dBus-gTsaṅ. A third name Hsi-fan indicated usually the Tibetan populations to the West of China, but was also loosely employed for the Tibetan-speaking regions in general.

chou, being organized by Köden acting upon orders from the *qayan*; the date is variously given, but is probably 1252. It penetrated as far as Mon–mk'ar mGon–po–gdoṅ (in sNa–mo?)[24]. The second division is expressly stated to have marched out in the following year, being led by Hur–ta or Hur–taṅ[25]; this is a fairly good transcription of Qoridai (Ho–li–tê), a Mongol leader whom Möngke late in 1251 had placed in command of the troops sent to pacify T'u–fan (Amdo)[26]. This double campaign struck a real and lasting terror in the minds of the Tibetans. We hear its echo in several sources. Ko–brag–pa (1182–1261) requested many *kalyānamitras* to supply means for rituals intended to ward off Hor attacks[27]. rGod–ts'aṅ–pa (1189–1258) voiced the same fears and spoke of a devastating invasion by the joint forces of the Hor and the Be–ri. Only later he was reassured by envoys (*gser yig pa*) from the Mongol commander as well as from Sa–skya and 'Bri–guṅ[28]. rGyal–ba Yaṅ–dgon–pa (1213–1258) too spoke with terror of the past invasion by the Hor and the Be–ri[29]. We find here again that mysterious clan or class of people called Be–ri or Bi–ri, whom Sa–skya Paṇḍita had brought with him when he came to Liang–chou. Apparently they had become auxiliary troops in the Mongol army. After 1252 they vanished into oblivion[30].

Whatever the real amount of the destruction they caused, these expeditions may have introduced a fair measure of reality into the net of Mongol appanages in Tibet. The representatives of the princes may have started to levy tribute and to exercise some sort of control over the monasteries and schools that were the

[24] For the name Dörbetei see Pelliot–Hambis, 400. *KPGT*, 449 (date: 1252) and 705 (date: Fire–Mouse, a mistake for Water–Mouse 1252); *NYOS*, 16b (date: 1251). The latter text narrates that, since Du–be–ta Bādur killed indiscriminately all those who did not submit at once, K'a–rag gÑos Rin–c'en–rgyal went out to sTod–luṅ to talk with him and led most of the people safely to submission.

[25] *KPGT*, 410, 796 (spelt as Hur–ta); Biography of Glaṅ–gdoṅ–pa, *alias* rGyal–ba Yaṅ–dgon–pa, in *KGSP*, vol. DA, 33a, 37a. Yaṅ–dgon–pa convinced the chiefs of La–stod to submit to the Mongols.

[26] *YS*, 3.4S.

[27] *BA*, 679. Hor was the usual name for the Mongols in this period.

[28] *GOD*, 101b–105b, 116a, 120a, 133b, 138b.

[29] Biography of rGyal–ba Yaṅ–dgon–pa in *KGSP*, vol. DA, 37a–b.

[30] However, a place called Bi–ri–ziṅ gsar–rñiṅ is mentioned in 1358 and 1360; *LANG*, 608, 677, 715.

only serious political power in the country. However, Möngke's intention to carry out a census was not put in practice this time.

The *qaγan*, in spite of his proclamation, paid no attention to the Sa–skya–pa in the political field, but looked out for other tools for his designs on Tibet. For a time he was interested in the famous miracle–worker Karma Pakṣi (1206–1283), the second incarnate Lama of the Karma–pa sect, who was present at the Buddhist–Taoist debate of 1256[31]. He contacted also other religious leaders, such as rGod–ts'aṅ–pa (1189–1258) and C'ag Lotsawa C'os–rje–dpal (1197–1264). The latter was invited to Mongolia, but refused on account of poor health. The death of Möngke in 1259 put an end to these feelers toward other Tibetan schools[32].

The final choice between the various sects, as well as the settlement of the Tibetan question, was to be the work of Qubilai. When he was the prince–governor of the Mongol territories in North China he had already shown some interest in Tibetan Buddhism. In 1253, on the ewe of his departure for the great expedition to Yünnan, he requested Köden to send him 'P'ags–pa and P'yag–na–rdo–rje. The two brothers went to Eastern Tibet[33] and apparently joined Qubilai's camp early in 1254, when the latter was returning to North China after the successful conclusion of the campaign. 'P'ags–pa was well received by Qubilai, to whom he gave tuition in the first essentials of Tibetan Buddhism, accompanying him as far as Muṅ–pa–śar[34]. While camping there, on 27th May, 1254, Qubilai issued to the young Sa–skya–pa novice a lengthy document, known to the Tibetans under the name *'ja' sa bod yig ma*, i.e. decree in the Tibetan script; its translation from the Mongolian is found in several Tibetan texts[35]. Contrary to what the tradition has to say, it contains not the slightest hint at Sa–skya temporal rule "over the thirteen myriarchies (*k'ri skor*) of

[31] *HD–2*, 91–92; *KPGT*, 446, 449, 450; *KARMA*, 54a–56b.

[32] On this subject in general see Petech 1983, 183–184.

[33] Late in 1253 'P'ags–pa was at sMar–k'ams Tsom–mdo in Southern Amdo, and early in 1254 he was in mDo–k'ams–sgaṅ; *Colophons* nn. 4, 129, 136. On his activities in this period see also Szerb 1980b, *passim*. For Qubilai's Ta–li campaign see now Rossabi 1988, 22–28.

[34] *SKDR*, 71b. Muṅ–pa–śar, "on the border between Tibet and China", is otherwise unknown.

[35] Critical study by Schuh 1977, 75–112. The date and the present form of the document are open to doubt.

dBus and gTsaṅ". The document, issued by prince Qubilai in the name of the *qaγan*, merely exempted the monks from taxation and from military and labour service; it was simply a confirmation of the privileges granted long before by Čhinggis Khan. It even marked a step backward in comparison with Möngke's edict, in so far as it contained no mention of Sa–skya–pa authority in religious matters[36]. About the same time Qubilai granted to the rÑiṅ–ma–pa *gter ston* Zur Śākya–'od a similar privilege exempting the Tantrics of dBus and gTsaṅ from taxation and military service[37].

In the following year 'P'ags–pa went first from K'ams to Liang–chou, where he consecrated the tomb of the Sa–skya Paṇḍita. Then he returned to mDo–k'ams, intending to obtain ordination from 'U–yug–pa bSod–nams–seṅ–ge. He was informed, however, that 'U–yug–pa had died the year before. Having met Qubilai again, he accompanied the prince in his journey to North China. He stopped on the banks of the Great River (the Huang–ho) at T'e–le near Ho–chou "on the border between China and Mongolia", where at last he received his final ordination as a full monk, this formal act being performed on 22nd May, 1255[38].

During 'P'ags–pa's absence Qubilai had been impressed by the wonders worked by Karma Pakṣi, whom he invited and entertained in his camp in Amdo. This was but a short interlude, and Karma Pakṣi's abrupt departure for the court of the *qaγan*, which irritated Qubilai, gave the path free for the young Sa–skya abbot, who in the 9th month of 1255 was already in attendance to the prince[39]. In 1256 and again during the three summer months of 1257 he resided at the Wu–t'ai shan[40]. With these exceptions, he stayed in Qubilai's camp, to whose inner circle he belonged.

In 1258 'P'ags–pa began initiating Qubilai in Buddhist–Tibetan mysticism, an event which Sa–skya–pa tradition later considered as the real beginning of the Tibetan mission in the Mongol world. In the same year he took part in the third Buddhist–Taoist debate, after which his rise in favour went on steadily. Qubilai

[36] See also the remarks by Schuh 1977, 102, where Möngke's decree is mistakely attributed to Köden.

[37] Tsering, 516.

[38] *GBYT*, II, 17a–b; *SKDR*, 71b–72a.

[39] *Colophon* n. 66.

[40] *Colophons* nn. 14, 127, 193, 194, 195.

had definitely selected him as his advisor and tool in Tibetan matters.

II.2 – *Rise and fulfilment of Mongol paramountcy.*

The *qayan* Möngke died in August 1259, while besieging a Sung fortress in Szechwan. His demise was followed by civil war. Qubilai caused himself to be elected by an irregular *quriltai* formed solely by his supporters, while his younger brother Ariq–böge did the same at the imperial capital Qaraqorum. The war lasted four years and ended with the surrender of Ariq–böge.

Concerning Tibet, Qubilai took at once two important measures which set the path for all future developments. First, he dismantled the appanage system in Tibet and recalled the representatives (*yul bsruṅs*) of the imperial princes, with the exception of the appanage of his brother Hülegü (c. 1260)[41]. Secondly, he granted to 'P'ags–pa the title of National Preceptor (*kuo–shih*) with an undefined authority as supreme head of the Buddhist clergy (9th January, 1261)[42]. Shortly later he had Karma Pakṣi arrested, charging him with being a supporter of Ariq–böge. According to the hagiography of Karma Pakṣi, he was kept for several days on a burning pyre, without the fire being able to harm him. He was reprieved, but banished to Southern China, probably to Yünnan. Only after eight years of exile he was allowed to return to Tibet[43]. His disgrace eliminated a potential rival to 'P'ags–pa.

Little is known of 'P'ags–pa's activities during the years following his appointment as *kuo–shih*. He remained at the court of the new emperor. Even though absent, he continued to care for his monastery, and in 1262 he sent to the *naṅ gñer* Śākya–bzaṅ–po the means necessary for building the great golden pinnacle (*gser t'og c'en mo*) to the West of the old tower (*dbu rtse rñiṅ ma*)[44].

Then in 1264 things suddenly started to move. That year was indeed decisive from many points of view. It saw the end of the

[41] *LANG*, 232.
[42] *YS*, 4.68, where the title is mistakenly given as *ti–shih*, Imperial Preceptor.
[43] *HD–2*, 92; *KPGT*, 450; *KARMA*, 57a–61b; *SKDR*, 67a–b.
[44] *SKDR*, 74a.

civil war with the victory of Qubilai and the replacement of Qaraqorum as the imperial capital by a new city built on the ruins of the old Chin capital Yen–ching; it was given the name Chung–tu, later changed to Ta–tu (modern Peking). The change meant a shift of the centre of the empire from Mongolia to Northern China. This year was also marked by the start of military operations intended to pacify Hsi–fan, the term indicating the Tibetan countries in general and K'ams in particular. In the same year (or shortly after) a first skeleton of governmental agency was set up at the capital, specially charged with the supervision of Buddhist, and later also of Tibetan affairs; we shall deal with it later. Lastly, 'P'ags–pa was sent to Tibet, clothed with imperial authority. His credentials were represented by the famous *'ja' sa mu tig ma* ("pearl document"), issued on 28th May 1264 from Śoṅ–t'o, i.e. the summer capital Shang–tu. Once more in contradiction to the Tibetan tradition, according to which this decree conferred upon 'P'ags–pa the temporal sovereignty over the three regions (*c'ol k'a*) making up the whole of the Tibetan–speaking countries, the imperial rescript merely confirmed to the Buddhist clergy the usual freedom from taxation and service, with the addition of the exemption from lodging and entertaining imperial messengers[45]. Still, the tradition has a basis of fact, because Sa–skya–pa administrators were stationed in each of the three *c'ol k'a*.

'P'ags–pa left the court in the spring of 1264[46]. His journey was accompanied by the advance of imperial troops. A large Mongol force headed by Du–mur (? Temür)[47] was marching toward Tibet in 1263. The sTag–luṅ abbot Saṅs–rgyas–yar–byon (1203–1272) warded off the invasion by dint of rich presents to

[45] See the critical study in Schuh 1977, 79–103; text and translation of the edict *ibid.*, 118–124. – On the Tibetan term *c'ol k'a* see below, p. 39.

[46] According to *Colophon* n. 213, on the 14th *sa ga* = 20th May he had already arrived at sÑi–luṅ in Roṅ–po (Southern Amdo). In that case he must have left the summer capital without waiting for the issue of the *mu tig ma*, which seems highly improbable. There may be some mistake in the dates.

[47] *TLGZ*, 104a–105a; Biography of Saṅs–rgyas–yar–byon in *CBGT*, ÑA, 61b. This Du–mur (= Temür) can perhaps be identified with Kuo–an, who in 1267 succeeded his younger brother Kuo–pao as commander of the Mongol troops and *daruyači* of the Wen–chou T'u–fan *wan–hu fu*; *YS*, 121.2987, and cf. Petech 1988, 370. Kuo–an was also called Temür; *Yüan–shih–shih–tsu–piao* (ap. *Er–shih–wu shih pu–pien*, vol. 6), 70. Probably Kuo–an/Temür advanced toward Tibet upon orders of his nominal superior Kuo–pao.

the Mongols. Henceforward on the 14th day of the 4th month of every year he performed large–scale and costly rituals to avert a Mongol invasion (*Hor bzlog la*). From the Chinese sources we learn that in 1264 an army led by general Qongridar (Huang–li–t'a–êrh) conquered and pacified T'u–fan, i.e. Amdo[48]. Probably the two Mongol forces carried out a co–ordinated campaign in North–East Tibet. It appears, however, that they did not enter dBus–gTsaṅ.

We know almost nothing of the events in Central Tibet and at Sa–skya during the twenty years intervening between the departure of Sa–skya Paṇḍita and the return of 'P'ags–pa. When in 1244 the Paṇḍita left for Byaṅ–ṅos in compliance with the summons of Köden, he appointed as his ecclesiastical vicars (*c'os dpon*) two of his disciples, 'U–yug–pa bSod–nams–seṅ–ge and Śar–pa Śes–rab–'byuṅ–gnas, while the general administration (*spyi'i k'a ta brjid k'ur*) of the Sa–skya estates and treasury (*gži gan pa*) was entrusted to the Chief Attendant (*naṅ gñer*) Grom–pa Śākya–bzaṅ–po. The latter in practice functioned as acting abbot[49]. Of course this regency came to an end with the arrival of 'P'ags–pa at the beginning of 1265[50].

The activity of 'P'ags–pa during his first stay in his monastery is unknown, except for some letters and religious tracts. Probably he did not concern himself overmuch with temporal affairs, leaving them in the trusted hands of Śākya–bzaṅ–po and of his own brother P'yag–na–rdo–rje.

Śākya–bzaṅ–po received the new title of *dpon c'en* and busied himself chiefly with an outburst of building activities in Sa–skya. He had already built the K'aṅ–gsar *bla braṅ*. When he went out to meet 'P'ags–pa returning from China, the latter, while passing by the Gye–re monastery[51], expressed the wish to have a similar temple built at Sa–skya. The *dpon c'en*, who rode behind him, heard that and took up the cue. He copied the measurements of

[48] In May 1265 Huang–li–ta–êrh (Qongridar) was granted a reward of 450 *liang* for the pacification of T'u–fan; *YS*, 6.106.

[49] *GBYT*, II, 15a, 39b; HD–I, 24b.

[50] *SKDR*, 74a. On 24th December 1264 he was at the Ra–mo–c'e temple in Lhasa; *Colophon* n. 25.

[51] The Gye–re monastery south–east of Lhasa on the Tsangpo was founded in 1231 by K'a–rag Lha–pa Rin–c'en–rgyal–po (1201–1270), who became its first abbot; *NYOS*, 18b.

Gye–re and despatched a circular to the myriarchs, chiliarchs and people of dBus–gTsaṅ, calling for the supply of labour force. In 1265 work was started on the walls of the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo and the inner enclosure was built. Śākya–bzaṅ–po collected also the timber for the roof; but when he died the huge fortress–like structure was still unroofed [52]. It was to become the seat of Mongol and Sa–skya administration, and is now the only building left standing and in good repair after the wholesale destruction of Sa–skya during the so–called Cultural Revolution. Together with 'P'ags–pa he sponsored also the revision of some earlier translations in the Kangyur [53].

P'yag–na–rdo–rje (1239–1267) [54] had followed his uncle and his elder brother to Köden's camp. He grew up in Mongol surroundings and used to dress in the Mongolian fashion. Köden gave him in marriage his own daughter, called Me–'ga'–duṅ or Me–'ga'–luṅ or Me–'ga'–'dun or Mam–mgal [55]. Later Qubilai granted him the title of prince of Pai–lan [56]. In the last months of 1263 or early in 1264 the emperor thought it advisable to send him ahead to prepare the return of, and to collaborate with his elder brother [57]. His position at Sa–skya is not easy to define.

[52] *GBYT*, 39b–40a; *BA*, 216. The date of the project for the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo on the pattern of Gye–re raises a problem. I have put it early in 1265 because *GBYT*, II, 35b, plainly shows that this happened when Śākya–bzaṅ–po went out to meet 'P'ags–pa arriving from China. But those same passages of GBYT date the event in the Fire–Dragon year 1256, which is impossible because in that year 'P'ags–pa stayed with Qubilai in North China. This date of 1256 is at the centre of complicate and partly erroneous calculations, on which see Macdonald, 93–94. 'P'ags–pa's arrival and stay in Tibet is confirmed by the colophons of his tracts, which show that he was at Sa–skya at least from the 2nd month of 1265 to the 2nd month of 1267; *Colophons* nn. 94, 95, 225 of 1265; nn. 47, 65, 215 of 1266; nn. 100 and 286 of 1267. Thus 1256 is simply a case of the common mistake by one twelve–years cycle, and the date refers to the actual start of the construction, which we know to have taken place "in the year after" 'P'ags–pa's arrival at Peking, i.e. in 1268; *SKDR*, 94a.

[53] De Jong, 509–510 – On Śākya–bzaṅ–po in general see *GBYT*, II, 39a–40b.

[54] A short biography of P'yag–na–rdo–rje is found in *SKDR*, 104b–105a. It was translated by Wylie 1984, 391–395. Cf. *GBYT*, II, 20a–b, and *HD–1*, 22a. I find it impossible, however, to concur with the treatement of the materials by Wylie.

[55] *HD–1*, 22a; GBYT, II, 20b; *SKDR*, 106a. According to another source quoted in *SKDR*, 104b, and to *DCBT*, 164a, princess Me–k'a–bdun or Maṃ–ga Lhun–bzaṅ Khatun was a daughter of Qubilai himself; but this seems to be incorrect.

[56] On this princely title see Petech 1990, 258.

[57] According to *SKDR*, 106a, he stayed at Byaṅ–ṅos (Liang–chou) for eighteen years counted *more tibetico*, i.e. seventeen years for us, and left at the age of twenty–five. As he had arrived at Liang–chou with his uncle in 1246, his stay there lasted till 1263/4.

Our earliest source employs vague terms: he was placed over the whole of Tibet (*Bod spyi'i steṅ du bkos*)[58]. According to another text he was appointed Lord of the Law (*k'rims bdag*) in the three regions (*c'ol k'a*)[59]. The term *k'rims bdag* implies some form of judicial activity; in my opinion, it corresponds to the Mongol title *jaryōči* i.e. judge[60]. Whether he actually exercised his judicial (and political) powers, remains open to doubt, because according to our text "the more than three years he passed in Tibet were spent in meditation and religious activities (*grub pa'i spyod pas*), whereby he led many people on the path of salvation". Whatever P'yag-na-rdo-rje's share was in the actual running of the country, it was cut short by his early death, which happened on the 1st or 2nd day of the 7th month of the Fire-Hare year (23rd or 24th July 1267) in the sGo-rum Lha-k'aṅ at Sa-skya.

His death was followed by serious unrest, the 'Bri-guṅ-pa apparently leading a reaction against the Sa-skya-pa[61]. 'P'ags-pa, whom the emperor had recalled to Peking, left Sa-skya, passed through 'Dam[62] and settled for the time being in Amdo[63]. Qubilai's reaction was swift and ruthless. Still in the same year 1267,

[58] *HD-I*, 22a; *GBYT*, II, 20b; *KPGT*, 450. A slightly expanded version in found in *DCBT*, 164a: *Bod 'baṅs spyi'i dpon la bskos śes su bcug nas miṅ dam k'a byon.*

[59] *SKDR*, 104b.

[60] The appointment of the *jaryōči* was after 1260 a privilege of the princes of the blood, acting severally or jointly; Ratchnevsky 1937, 52.

[61] This seems to be hinted at in *B. Lett.*, 98: "when formerly Sa-skya and 'Bri-guṅ strove to see who would grasp the sovereignty...". As this passage refers to a time earlier than 'P'ags-pa's quarrel with the *dpon c'en* Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po in 1280, it cannot allude to the civil war of 1287/90, but only to the events of 1267.

[62] 'P'ags-pa arrived in 'Dam on the 5th and left on the 26th of the 10th month (23rd October-13th November 1267). From there he issued to the Sa-skya officials a document dated on the 15th day of the 10th month (3rd November), confirming to the C'os-sdiṅs monastery the privileges guaranteed by the *'ja' sa mu tig ma*, as well as the possession of its estates. This document, miraculously preserved in the original, was published in Schuh 1981, 341-344. The old temple of C'os-sdiṅs became later a mere meditation place attached to the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of bKra-śis-bsam-gtan-gliṅ in the sKyid-groṅ region, founded in the 18th century; see Schuh 1988, 28-29. In 'Dam 'P'ags-pa met also the bKa'-gdams-pa monk Nam-mk'a'-'bum, who later wrote a life of 'P'ags-pa which is one of the sources of *SKDR* for his early years; *SKDR*, 75a-b, 92b. Four tracts and letters of his written in 'Dam are dated 14th November 1267; *Colophons* nn. 28, 103, 244, 317.

[63] According to *Colophon* n. 5, he was at Tsom-mdo gNas-gsar, a place in sMar-k'ams (Southern Amdo), already on the 8th *nag po* (4th April, 1267). It is hard to reconcile this date with the course of the events of that year, and I suspect that Fire-Hare (1267) is a mistake for Wood-Hare (1255), in which year he *was* traveling in Amdo.

Mongol troops led by K'er–k'e–ta (or prince K'er–ta) penetrated into Tibet, killed one 'Dam–pa–ri–pa (perhaps the leader of the rebellion) and crushed all resistance[64]. K'er–k'e–ta's expedition paved the way for the introduction of a new and final administrative structure; it will be described in Chapter III. The year 1268 marks the real beginning of Mongol control over Tibet, with the full and wholehearted support of the *dpon c'en* Śākya–bzaṅ–po.

After the death of the first *dpon c'en* (ca. 1270) new men entered the stage. When 'P'ags–pa left for Amdo, his place at Sa–skya was taken by his half–brother Rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an (1238–1279?), who till then had been a chaplain (*bla mc'od*) to the emperor; now he acted as a quasi–abbot (*gdan sa lta bu*)[65]. Śākya–bzaṅ–po's successor as *dpon c'en* was Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po of sTag–ts'aṅ; he continued as the titular (*gtsaṅ ma*) *dpon c'en* for six years (ca. 1270–1276)[66]. Before his appointment he had filled the office of Chief Attendant (*naṅ gñer* or *naṅ c'en*), and the role he played in the events of 1267/68 had given rise to widespread suspicions. While the famous scholar U–rgyan Seṅ–ge–dpal (1230–1309) was residing at the sPuṅ–tra (or Pu–tra) monastery in La–stod, a story was current there that Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po had poisoned P'yag–na–rdo–rje. When this rumor came to the ears of the *dpon c'en* he led an armed party against sPuṅ–tra, destroyed its dwelling quarters (*gzims k'aṅ*) and during five years impeded any kind of religious teaching. sPuṅ–tra was later restored thanks to a liberal grant by prince A'uruγči, who escorted 'P'ags–pa back to Sa–skya in 1276[67].

During these years there was apparently an attempt at invasion by the sTod Hor. According to a passage in the *gsuṅ 'bum* of 'Jigs–med–gliṅ–pa (1729–1798), the attempt was foiled by the magic worked by the rÑiṅ–ma–pa Tantric Zur Ñi–ma–seṅ–ge, which

[64] *KPGT*, 410–411, 749, 796. This prince or general seems to be unknown to the Chinese sources, unless we have to identify him with Qitay Saliγ, an Uighur official mentioned in *YS*, 130.3174; in 1275 he become overseer of Buddhism at the capital, rising then to *t'ung–chih* in the *tsung–chih yüan* and finally head of that department. But the similarity of names is vague. As to 'Dam–pa–ri–pa, we have only negative evidence: he cannot be the man of the same name who was head (*spyi dpon*) of the Gye–re monastery and died in 1263; *NYOS*, 16b–17a. Cf. Petech 1983, 199–200 n. 73.

[65] *SKDR*, 260b.

[66] *GBYT*, II, 40b.

[67] *KARMA*, 87a.

caused 30.000 enemy warriors to lose their lives in glaciers, snow and rocks. The intervention of the Tantric was obtained by an order of the emperor and of 'P'ags–pa transmitted through Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po [68]. sTod Hor can only mean the Čaγatai kingdom of Central Asia. Of course the whole tale is largely mythical.

During his term of office Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po roofed the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo and completed the edifice by the erection of the great golden dome (*gser 'p'ru*). He made also the inner image of Sa–skya Paṇḍita and the golden statue of Mahābodhi, as well as all the paintings in the open gallery (*'k'yams*). Besides, he laid the foundations of the Rin–c'en–sgaṅ *bla braṅ* together with its northern tower, and of the Lha–k'aṅ *bla braṅ* (which is different from the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo) [69]. The monastic complex of Sa–skya, as it existed in Yüan times, was essentially due to the first two *dpon c'en*.

In the meantime 'P'ags–pa had arrived at Peking [70]. Qubilai had requested him to devise a new script to be employed both for Mongolian and for Chinese; this he did, starting from the Tibetan alphabet. In the second month of 1269 the so–called 'P'ags–pa alphabet was declared to be the national script and its use was made compulsory in official documents, although it never gained general acceptance. Partly as a reward for his invention, at the end of 1269 or the beginning of 1270 Qubilai granted him the title of Imperial Preceptor (*ti–shih*) [71].

'P'ags–pa did not stay at the court for long. Early in 1271 he left for Śiṅ–kun (Lin–t'ao), where he took his residence for the next three years [72]. His personal contacts with the emperor must have been desultory, and we are entitled to entertain some doubts about the real extent of his political influence with Qubilai.

In the second month of 1274 he went back to the Court, but

[68] Tsering, 521.

[69] *GBYT*, II, 40b–41a. Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po's building activities are reported also in *KARMA*, 96a, which adds to them the Dus–mc'od *bla braṅ*.

[70] He was at Coṅ–du (Chung–tu, Peking) already on 15 *k'yi zla* (27th July, 1268); *Colophon*, n. 125.

[71] According to *SKDR*, 94a, the title of *ti–shih* was granted in 'P'ags–pa's 36th year Iron–Horse (1270). So also in *Ch'ih hsiu po chang ch'ing kuei*, T. 2025 (vol. XLVIII, 1117b).

[72] *Colophons*, nn. 73, 74, 97, 98, 114, 157, 186, 209, 210, 224 for 1271; 67, 87, 104, 124, 26, 217, 218 for 1272; 56, 72, 79, 81, 117, 122, 183 for 1273.

only in order to obtain from the emperor leave to return finally to Sa–skya. He renounced his office of Imperial Preceptor, Rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an being summoned from Sa–skya to succeed him. The new *ti–shih* resided in the Me–tog ra–ba (Flowery Enclosure), where 'P'ags–pa too had lived. This was apparently af first just a site within the precincts of the palace. Rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an gathered there a monastic community "near the imperial palace". He died a few years later at Śiṅ–kun[73].

'P'ags–pa had started on his journey almost immediately; but once more he tarried for nearly two years in South Amdo, chiefly at Tre[74]. The reasons for this delay were, at least in part, of a military and political nature. There was serious trouble on the border, and in the third month of 1275 Qubilai ordered three imperial princes to send their Mongol contingents to reinforce A'uruγči, prince of Hsi–p'ing, who was fighting against the T'u–fan. He was apparently expected to open the Tibet route against armed opposition and to escort safely 'P'ags–pa to Sa–skya[75]. In September and October 1275 the abbot was at mTs'o–mdo gNas–gsar, where he delivered religious discourses to about 1500 monks, headed by sTon–ts'ul, the propagator of the Sa–skya school and of its political influence in K'ams[76]. On 15.II (29th February, 1276) 'P'ags–pa was at T'aṅ–skya in dBus[77], and shortly after the Lama and the prince together reached at last Sa–skya[78].

Possibly in the same year 1276 they dismissed the high–handed, even if efficient, *dpon c'en* Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po. He was repla-

[73] A short biography of Rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an is found in *SKDR*, 105a, and *GBYT*, II, 20b–21a. His appointment as *ti–shih* was announced on 24th April, 1274; *YS*, 8.154 and 202.4518. The date of death is not quite certain. *SKDR* and *BA*, 212, give it as 1279. So also *GBYT*, which supplies the exact date 10.III Fire–Hare (a patent error for Earth–Hare), i.e. 24th March, 1279. *YS*, 10.218, registers it as one of the events of the years 1279. Only *HD–I*, 22b, states that he died at the age of forty–five in 1282; so also *YS*, 202.4158.

[74] *Colophons*, nn. 141, 147, 211.

[75] *YS*, 8.164. On A'uruγči see Hambis 1946, 116, and Hambis 1954, 141; Petech 1990, 263. The Persian historian Rashid ud din informs us that "the *qaγan* allotted him the province of Tubbat (T'u–fan, Amdo)"; Boyle, 244. His headquarters seems to have been since the very beginning Ho–chou. His biography in *YS*, 131.3190–3191, makes no mention of his Tibetan expedition.

[76] *Colophons*, nn. 119, 154, 298; *GBYT*, II, 18b.

[77] *Colophon*, n. 26.

[78] *BA*, 212, 973; *SKDR*, 95a.

ced by Žaṅ–btsun and the latter again by P'yug–po–sgaṅ–dkar–ba, both being appointed by the emperor upon the proposal of 'P'ags–pa [79]. We know absolutely nothing about them beyond their names.

Central Tibet was still restless, and in 1277 A'uruγči led his troops eastward in a march that took him as far as sMyal (gÑal), where he killed one Zaṅs–c'en–pa, probably a leader of the opposition [80]. On the other side, apparently to help in the work of pacification, in the same year 'P'ags–pa convened at C'u–mig a general conference of the ecclesiastical leaders of the country, the expenses being defrayed by a generous grant from the heir–apparent prince J̌ingim. Perhaps as a token of goodwill inviting collaboration, the conference was chaired by the bKa'–gdams–pa monk mC'ims Nam–mk'a'–grags, abbot of sNar–t'aṅ [81]. Although our sources describe it as a purely spiritual affair, in all likelihood it had political consequences, such as the final recognition of Mongol paramountcy. 'P'ags–pa's thanks to his patron took the shape of the dedication to prince J̌ingim of his most important work, the compendium of Buddhist religion called *Śes bya rab gsal* [82].

A half–legendary event seems to belong to the last years of 'P'ags–pa. Qubilai is said to have sent some officers to explore the feasibility of an invasion of India through Tibet. Luckily U–rgyan–pa Seṅ–ge–dpal succeeded in convincing the emperor of the insuperable geographical obstacles, and the sovereign was reasonable enough to abandon the project, which had no possibility of success and would have been burdensome to Tibet [83]. Of course the historicity of the tale is much open to doubt.

'P'ags–pa died in the Lha–k'aṅ *bla braṅ* of Sa–skya on the 15th December, 1280; all the Tibetan sources agree on this date. The event was accompanied and followed by a confused situation, centering upon the former *dpon c'en* Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po. After his dismissal a growing estrangement had developed between him and

[79] *HD–I*, 24; *GBYT*, II, 41a; *BA*, 216; *DMS*, 185.

[80] *KPGT*, 796.

[81] *HD–I*, 26b; *BA*, 212; *DMS*, 186. On mC'ims Nam–mk'a'–grags see *BA* 282–283, and Macdonald, 118–120 n. 55.

[82] The *Śes bya rab gsal* enjoyed a wide diffusion. It was translated into Chinese in 1306 and a free Mongol version was made around 1600. See now C. Hoog, *Prince J̌inggim's text book of Tibetan Buddhism*, Leiden 1983.

[83] *KPGT*, 454, 463, 798–799; *KARMA*, 86b.

the abbot. It was widened by the malicious slanderings of a pupil or servant (*ñe gnas*) of the Lama, till it turned into downright enmity. Kun-dgan'-bzaṅ-po headed a sort of faction, to which belonged among others the *k'ri dpon* of C'u-mig, the Byaṅ *k'ri dpon*, the Śar branch of Ža-lu (the *sku žaṅ* of the main line stood by the Lama), and even the Nub-pa, one of the foremost families of Sa-skya[84]. In the end the *ñe gnas* sent letters to the emperor urging his intervention against Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po; according to other texts, the former *dpon c'en* was even accused to have poisoned 'P'ags-pa[85].

Qubilai took a serious view of the matter, and in 1281[86] he sent to Tibet an army of 7000 Mongol soldiers reinforced by a large body of militia from Amdo. It was commanded by Sang-ko (Sam-gha, Zam-k'a or similar forms in the Tibetan texts), the head of the Department of Buddhist Affairs and later all-powerful minister of finance and prime minister[87]. The army reached 'U-yug and Śaṅs, then it besieged and stormed Bya-rog-ts'aṅ, the residence of Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po, who was taken and put to death. After this, Sang-ko proceeded to Sa-skya. Once there, he demobilized the larger part of his army and busied himself with strengthening the military positions of the Mongols in Tibet. A small garrison of 160 men was posted at Sa-skya itself. Seven hundred Mongols were sent to watch the frontier regions toward sTod Hor, i.e. the Čaγatai Khanate in Central Asia. Other garrisons were placed as far south as lCag-rtse K'ri-k'u (or Gri-gu)[88]. This was the first permanent occupation of Tibet by imperial troops, strategically distributed in the centre of the country and on

[84] *B. Lett.*, 99a (= *TPS*, 673); *GBYT*, II, 37a-b.

[85] *HD-1*, 24b; *Ba, 2L6, 582; DMS*, 186; *KPGT*, 796; *KARMA*, 87a. Some further details are supplied in the autobiography of 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mts'an-bzaṅ-po (1310-1391), in *KGSP*, P'A, 6a-b. See also the long discussion in Shakabpa 1976, I, 295-299.

[86] According to *GBYT*, I, 208a-b, and II, 41a, the expeditionary corps was sent in 1280, i.e. before the death of 'P'ags-pa. Perhaps this refers to a preliminary decision to intervene in the disturbances caused by Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po.

[87] The biography of Sang-ko in *YS*, 205, was translated by Franke 1942. See now Petech 1980a.

[88] Practically our sole source for Sang-ko's campaign is *GBYT*, I, 208a-210a. A sketchy summary is found in *LANG*, 566-567. It is barely mentioned in *BA*, 582; *DMS*, 186; KPGT, 796. According to *CBGT*, 83b, it brought in its wake looting and hardship for the peasantry. Zur Śākya-seṅ-ge, the son of the famous rÑiṅ-ma-pa scholar Śākya-'od, prevented wholesale massacre in gTsaṅ; *ZUR*, 19a.

its borders. Sang-ko took also steps to reorganize the mail service that had been disrupted by the disturbances.

Sang-ko's expedition should have established Mongol control and Sa-skya government in a final way. That it was not so, was going to be shown by the so-called 'Bri-guṅ "rebellion" a few years later.

After 'P'ags-pa's death the rights and authority of the Sa-skya see were vested in Dharmapālarakṣita (1268–1287), the posthumous son of P'yag-na-rdo-rje from a noble Tibetan lady, the *ma gcig* mK'a'-'gro-'bum of Ža-lu[89]. 'P'ags-pa had entrusted the upbringing of his young nephew to his kinsman, the lord of Ža-lu. The boy grew up at the Śiṅ-k'aṅ *bla braṅ*, and later founded the Ža-lu *bla braṅ*, both in Sa-skya. He performed the funeral rites for his uncle, but in the same year 1281 Qubilai summoned him to Peking, to take up the succession of the *ti-shih* Rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an; his formal appointment took place in 1282[90]. The emperor gave him as wife a daughter of prince Ǐibik Temür, a son of Köden[91], and appointed him "ruler of Tibet". He was, and always remained, a layman, and as such he could not be formally appointed abbot (*gdan sa c'en po*). His activity at the imperial capitals was particularly noteworthy for the construction of the stūpa with the cenotaph dedicated to the memory of 'P'ags-pa, as well as for building the adjacent Me-tog ra-ba monastery, which was the official residence of the Imperial Preceptor down to the end of the Yüan dynasty[92]. He vacated the office of Preceptor in 1286 and left for Sa-skya, but died en route at Tre Maṇḍala[93] on 18 *smal po* (11th month), i.e. 24th December, 1287.

He too left no issue from his Mongol wife. From another Ža-lu lady, called Jo-bo sTag-gi-'bum[94], he had a boy variously

[89] Ža-lu Genealogies quoted in *TPS*, 658.

[90] The appointment is registered in *YS*, 12.249 and 202.4518 as one of the events of the year 1282.

[91] Hambis 1946, 74–75.

[92] Upon now it has been impossible to find out the Chinese name of this monastery.

[93] Also spelt Tre'o. It is Drio or Chuwo of the maps, to the north of Tao-fu and slightly to the west of Kandze; Stein 1959b, 28.

[94] Ža-lu Genealogies in *TPS*, 658.

called Ratnabhadra or Dharmabhadra or Ratnapālarakṣita, who died at the age of five. So this branch of the family died out[95].

The first *dpon c'en* under Dharmapālarakṣita was Byaṅ-c'ub-rin-c'en, whose name had been submitted to the emperor by 'P'ags-pa, apparently shortly before his death at the end of 1280. Qubilai, who placed great trust in this man, issued the formal decree of appointment in 1281, conferring upon him at the same time the six-cornered seal with the cristal button, which was the office badge of the heads (*mi-dpon*) of the *son wi si (hsüan-wei ssŭ)*[96]. He arrived from Peking in the train of Sang-ko's expeditionary force, and this seems to imply that previously he had been employed in the Department for Buddhist Affairs at the capital. This set a precedent that was followed in many cases afterwards. Byaṅ-c'ub-rin-c'en carried away from bSam-yas the turquoise image of the Lha-mo[97]. He entertained cordial relations with U-rgyan-pa Seṅ-ge-dpal, whom he summoned to Sa-skya when he was seriously ill, and who at the end of 1281 or early in 1282 conducted the funeral rites for the *dpon c'en* in 'Jad[98]. According to another version Byaṅ-c'ub-rin-c'en was murdered in the summer camp at Śaṅs sDoṅ-po-t'aṅ by Byaṅ-pa Ye-śes-bzaṅ-po, the third of the four trusted attendants (*g.yog sñiṅ*) of Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po, who perhaps meant to avenge his dead master[99].

His successor was Kun-dga'-gžon-nu, hitherto holding the office of Chief Attendant (*naṅ c'en gñer*). He may have belonged to the circle around Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po, since they are mentioned together as the sponsors of the translation of a text in the Kangyur[100]. In November 1283, with the emperor's approval, he granted a three-years remission of taxation to the monks and laymen of Tibet[101]. A few years later he laid down his charge.

The next *dpon c'en* gŽon-nu-dbaṅ-p'yug, a member of the La-stod Lho family[102], had been sent to the capital at the time

95) On Dharmapālarakṣita see *HD-1*, 22a; *GBYT*, II, 21b-22b; *SKDR*, 106a-b.

96) *GBYT*, II, 41a-b; *Ba*, 216.

97) *Blon po bka' t'aṅ* quoted in *TPS*, 258 n. 200.

98) *KARMA*, 87b.

99) *GBYT*, II, 41b. He was not connected with the noble Byaṅ family who played a considerable role during the twilight of the Sa-skya-pa.

100) De Jong, 525.

101) *NEL*, 158-159.

102) *LANG*, 791.

of 'P'ags-pa's demise; then he returned to Sa-skya and was already in charge when Dharmapālarakṣita died. His period of office was marked by new developments in the internal situation. Central Tibet was empoverished, as remarked already by Sang-ko in 1281, a condition which explains also the tax remission by Kun-dga'-gžon-nu. Apparently the whole financial and fiscal system had been thrown out of gear and needed a rehauling. In 1287 the *k'rims ra c'en po* (great tribunal; perhaps the *shang-shu sheng* or the censorate) sent to Tibet two *ho śu u nu k'an* who, in collaboration with gŽon-nu-dbaṅ-p'yug, carried out a revision (*c'e gsal* or *p'ye gsal*) of the census of 1268[103].

Besides the necessities of the local situation, this action was almost certainly connected with a larger undertaking by Sang-ko, who in those years had taken charge of the finances of the empire. In 1287 he organized the first cadastral survey (*kua k'an*) of South China, under the supervision of a detached Office of Agriculture (*hsing ta-ssu-nung-ssu*), which functioned from 1287 to 1290 at P'ing-chiang[104]. In the following year he gave orders for a general investigation and recovery of tax arrears (*li-suan*) in the

[103] *HD-1*, 24b; *GBYT*, I, 214a. Relying on a somewhat different version of the same text, *LDL5*, KA, 21a, tells us that a *do śu u nu k'an*, accompanied by Ar-mgon and Su-t'u A-skyid (the census officials of 1268) carried out a count of the population. This appears to be a telescoped mixture of the events of 1268 and 1287. – This seems the proper place for tackling the puzzling expression found in these sources. As far as I am aware, it occurs three times only:

ho śu u nu k'an (*GBYT*, I, 214a);
t'o žu a nu gan (*GBYT*, I, 193a);
do śu u nu k'an (*LDL5*, KA, 21a).

I take it for granted that this is an official title and not a proper name. It consists of two words. The exact form of the first one must be *t'o śu*, which occurs several times in the standard formula "crystal seal with *t'o śu*", found e.g. in *SKDR*, 118b, 175b, 176a, and is abridged as *śel t'o śu* in *SKDR*, 174a, and in *BA*, 520. We find also "golden-lettered circular *t'o śu*" in *LANG*, 472. I take the first syllable to be Chin. *t'o*, "to entrust, to delegate", and the second syllable to be Chin. *shu*, "document". The whole would mean "certificate of delegation of a function"; however this expression is not actually found in the texts. This interpretation is supported by the parallel form *t'o liṅ* occurring in *LANG* and in *GBYT*, I, 193a, in which the second syllable is Chin. *ling*, "order from a prince". The correct form for the second word appears to be *u nu k'an*, a perfect transcription of Mong. *unuqan*, "foal", which seems absurd in this context. I am not ready to make any suggestion at present, although I returned to this problem in a paper presented at the 5th International Seminar on Tibetan Studies held at Narita, Japan, in August/September 1989.

[104] Uematsu, 56–58. Another cadastral survey (*ching-li*) was carried out in 1315, but once more it did not extend to Tibet.

same regions, for which purpose he established a special board, the *cheng–li ssu*. Evidently the proceedings of 1287 in Tibet were but another instance of the same policy. The whole action was to culminate in the great census decreed on 22nd February 1289 and completed in 1290 [105], which, however, did not touch Tibet.

Besides collaborating in the fiscal revision, the *dpon c'en* gŽon–nu–dbaṅ–p'yug carried out a codification of the details (*žib c'a*) of the laws of dBus–gTsaṅ, possibly to bring them in line with the Mongol law introduced in 1268 [106].

At the same time new Imperial Preceptors and abbots took office, neither of them belonging to the 'K'on family. Toward the end of 1286 Qubilai appointed as *ti–shih* Ye–śes–rin–c'en (1248–1294) of the Śar–pa family. He was a nephew or grand–nephew of Śes–rab–'byuṅ–gnas, whom Sa–skya Paṇḍita, upon leaving Sa–skya in 1244, had left there as one of his two spiritual vicars [107]. As to the vacant Sa–skya see, the emperor appointed Ye–śes–rin–c'en's younger brother 'Jam–dbyaṅs–rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an (1257–1305) as acting abbot (*bla c'os*). It almost looked as if the two Śar–pa brothers and their clan would replace the 'K'on family. Possibly, their appointments were connected with the rapid increase of Sang–ko's influence and we may raise the legitimate suspicion that the two Śar–pa brothers were his protegees.

Whether these changes had some bearing on the deterioration of the internal situation about that time, is difficult to tell. Unrest had been mounting for some time, and its spearhead were the monks of 'Bri–guṅ, who showed themselves increasingly hostile to the Sa–skya–Yüan regime. In 1285 they had destroyed the monastery of Bya–yul, killing its abbot [108]. Two years later they started a dangerous "rebellion", or rather civil war [109]. This confronted gŽon–nu–dbaṅ–p'yug with a problem which he seemed unable to solve. In November 1288 he was holding the office of dBus–gTsaṅ

[105] Uematsu, 61.

[106] *HD–I*, 24b; *GBYT*, II, 41b; *BA*, 216.

[107] *HD–I*, 24b; *GBYT*, II, 39b; *SKDR*, 265b. On the Śar–pa family see *HD–I*, 23a–24a, and *GBYT*, 35b–37a. The appointment of Ye–śes–rin–c'en is registered in *YS*, 14.204, as one of the events of the year 1296.

[108] *BA*, 303; *DMS*, 187; *KPGT*, 335.

[109] We are expressly told that the "rebellion" started in the time of gŽon–nu–dbaṅ–p'yug.

hsüan-wei shih, and in that quality he memorialized the emperor in order to obtain relief for the famished families of the military bases under his command; the sovereign granted 2500 silver taels [110]. Shortly afterward he handed over his charge, being probably summoned to Peking to work in the Department for Buddhist Affairs.

Of his successor Byaṅ-c'ub-rdo-rje we know absolutely nothing, except that he was a pupil of rGyal-ba-ye-śes (1257–1320), since 1313 abbot of Jo-naṅ [111]. Apparently this shadowy figure held office for a very short time.

Quite different is the case with the next *dpon c'en* Ag-len rDo-rje-dpal, also called Aṅ-len bKra-śis, who is one of the few forceful personalities of the series [112]. He was the grandson of Su-t'u A-skyid, one of the two officials who had conducted the operations of the 1268 census. His main success was the suppression, after three years of desultory fighting, of the 'Bri-guṅ rebellion. The *sgom pa* (civil administrator) of 'Bri-guṅ, being reduced to dire straits, had gone to sTod Hor [113] to obtain auxiliary troops, and upon his return he had cut the mail route. Ag-len in his turn applied for help to the imperial government, which sent to Tibet Temür Buqa, prince of Chen-hsi Wu-ching and elder son of prince A'uruγči [114]. In 1290 the Mongol troops, together with the militia of the thirteen *k'ri skor* under the command of Ag-len, defeated the enemy at dPal-mo-t'aṅ. The 'Bri-guṅ monastery was stormed and put to the torch, most of its inmates being massacred. The *sgom pa* was killed. The sTod Hor troops were dispersed and their commander, prince (*rgyal bu*) Rin-c'en, was taken pris-

[110] *YS*, 15.315.

[111] *BA*, 775.

[112] Some information on Ag-len is supplied by the Fifth Dalai-Lama, whose mother belonged to the same clan (sNa-dkar-rtse); *LDL5*, KA, 21a-b, translated in *TPS*, 687. This passage is stated to be drawn from the *GBYT*, but I did not succeed in locating it; at the utmost, some traces can be found in *GBYT*, 41b-42a.

[113] In the beginning the name sTod Hor was applied to the dominions of Hülegü in Iran. But in the 14th century it came to indicate the Čaγatai kingdom. The *locus classicus* is *KARMA*, 182a; Karma-pa Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje received an invitation from the sTod Hor king T'u-lug T'e-mur, i.e. the Čaγatai ruler Tuγluγ Temür (1347–1363). In my opinion the sTod Hor forces were sent by Dua (1274–1306), head of the Čaγatai house and a staunch ally of the anti-*qaγan* Qaidu in his long struggle against Qubilai and his successor. Also Shakabpa 1976, I, 307, equates sTod Hor with Ka-śi-ka-ra or Ha-śi-har, i.e. Kashgar.

[114] On Temür Buqa see Petech 1990, 259.

oner and sent to the capital. The united forces then marched south, passing through Dags–po, Koṅ–po, E, gÑal and Lho–brag as far as the Mon–la dkar–po pass toward Assam, thus consolidating (or imposing) Sa–skya and Mongol authority over the south–eastern portion of Central Tibet. C'os–rgyal–dpal–bzaṅ, the foremost churchman and landowner in those parts, tendered his allegiance[115]. We are even told that Ag–len had his own name carved on some rocks on the border of Dags–po and in Lower gÑal. In dBus itself the Mongols arrested the 'Ts'al–pa *k'ri dpon* dGa'–bde–mgon–po, who was sent to Peking and was released only after the fall of Sang–ko. The P'ag–mo–gru monastery nearly met with the same sort as 'Bri–guṅ, but the *k'ri dpon* Byaṅ–c'ub–gžon–nu obtained its safety[116].

It took some time for 'Bri–guṅ to recover from this blow. The abbot had fled to Koṅ–po and his two successors did not stay permanently at the monastery. However, the new *sgom pa* obtained from the emperor adequate means for the repairs, and the new thirteen–years old abbot bCu–gñis–pa had them carried out fairly quickly[117]. Although the last embers of the rebellion had been stamped out, prince Temür Buqa and his troops remained in Tibet for some years more[118]. As we shall see later, the dBus–gTsaṅ *hsüan–wei ssu* was transformed into a combined civil and military structure (*hsüan–wei ssu tu yüan–shuai fu*). This placed the final touch on the Yüan administration of Central Tibet; it was to remain unchanged till the end. As to Ag–len, during or after these events he was appointed *hsüan–wei shih*, appearing as such in 1295[119].

115) *BA*, 1088.

116) *HD–I*, 37b; *GBYT*, II, 170b–171a. On a different version of the sequence of the events in the "rebellion" see the sources quoted in Sperling 1987, 36.

117) *KPGT*, 411, 750.

118) *HD–I*, 37b.

119) *ZL*, n. II.

CHAPTER III.

THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAME

III.1 – *Structures within the imperial government*

At first there was no agency of the imperial government overseeing Tibetan affairs. The *qaγan* acted from case to case, basing himself upon the information and advice supplied by the border commanders, as well as by the *kuo–shih* and by other Tibetan Lamas. Indeed, 'P'ags–pa was not alone in the retinue of Qubilai. There was e.g. the rÑiṅ–ma–pa *gter ston* Zur Śākya–'od (1205–1268), to whom the emperor granted a privilege specially exempting the Tantrics of Central Tibet from taxation and military service [1]. There was also rGya a sñan Dam–pa Kun–dga'–grags (Chin. Tan–pa, 1230–1303), whom 'P'ags–pa himself had recommended to Qubilai [2]. These monks, although in high repute as miracle workers and mystics, played no political role such as was the case with 'P'ags–pa.

When, however, the *kuo–shih* left the court in the summer of 1264, the emperor may have felt the need for having at the capital an office which could carry out the absent 'P'ags–pa's duties of general supervision of the Buddhist clergy in Chiṅa, as well as steering the developments of the situation in Central Tibet. In that year, or shortly after, he created the [*shih–chiao*] *tsung–chih yüan*, formally placed under the overall authority of the faraway *kuo–shih*. Its directives and orders were transmitted to the Chinese provincial instances through local offices called *shih–chiao tsung–t'ung so*. They appear for the first time in 1265 and were abolished in 1311.

After some years the effective head of the *tsung–chih yüan* was the Uighurized Tibetan Sang–ko (Sangha), who in the Chinese texts plays the role of the "wicked minister", one of the to-

[1] Tsering, 511–520.

[2] On Tan–pa see Franke 1984.

poi of Chinese historiography; according to the Tibetan sources he was a protegee of 'P'ags-pa, while according to the Chinese he was a pupil of Tan-pa.

We have no information about the working of the *yüan* during 'P'ags-pa's absence and his short stay at the capital in 1269–1271. After he was granted the new title of Imperial Preceptor (*ti-shih*), he continued to be the titular head of the *yüan*; but he was mostly absent in Amdo, and in 1274 he finally left the court to return to Sa-skya. There was no change under his successor Rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an, but after the latter's demise in 1279 the emperor carried out a radical reform.

The *tsung-chih yüan* receded for the moment in the background, and on the 14th February 1280 Qubilai created, or rather resurrected, the *kung-tê shih ssu*, an old office going back to T'ang times, when it was concerned with Buddhist charities and rituals at the court. It was now charged with the supervision of "all the monks subject to the Imperial Preceptor, as well as of the civil and military affairs of T'u-fan (Amdo)"[3]. In 1281 we find it serving as the normal official channel between the government and the Buddhist clergy[4]. It is rather surprising that its rank (lower third degree) should be inadequate for such an important task.

Within a short time the growing influence of Sang-ko reversed this trend. His successful expedition to Central Tibet (1281) must have greatly enhanced his prestige. In 1282 he was charged with supervising the grant of indemnities to temples and monasteries for the cut of trees in their cemeteries[5]. Soon the *kung-tê shih ssu* fell under his control: in a document dated 21st March 1284 the monk (*toyin*) Hsiao-yeh-ch'ih appears as its director, but Sang-ko was charged with the overall supervision (*ling*) of its affairs[6]. In 1286 his name appears for the first time as the official head of the *tsung-chih yüan*[7] too.

Sang-ko's rise in the imperial favour culminated in the following year. On 25th March 1287 he became one of the two vi-

[3] Nogami 1942, 129-130.

[4] *FTLTTT*, 707c.

[5] *YS*, 12.243.

[6] *PWL*, 776a; *FTLTTT*, 708b, 709a. More or less the same picture is shown in *YS*, 205.

[7] *YS*, 14.291.

ce–chancellors of the resurrected Supreme Secretariat (*shang–shu sheng*), and on the 11th December of the same year he was appointed as its chancellor (*ch'eng–hsiang*), practically corresponding to a Prime Minister. He continued to hold concurrently the presidencies of both the *tsung–chih yüan* and of the *kung–tê shih ssu*[8], being thus in absolute control of Buddhist affairs. His position was formalized by the re–organization carried out on the 17th December 1288, when the *tsung–chih yüan* was given the new name *hsüan–cheng yüan*[9], which we may translate as Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. Its rank was very high: lower first degree. Actually this new Department was an independent creation, and the *tsung–chih yüan* continued to lead a shadowy existence side by side with it. Not until the 22nd May 1291 was the *tsung–chih yüan* finally merged with the *hsüan–cheng yuan*[10].

Sang–ko headed the new Department, having as his colleague a monk completely subjected to his will. The staff of the *yüan* was determined in detail. It included two *yüan–shih* (presidents), two *t'ung–chih* (assistant directors), two *fu–shih*, two *ts'an–i*, two *ching–li*, four *tu–shih*, one *kuan–kou*, one *chao–mo*. In 1289 two *tuan–chih kuan* (judges; Mong. *jaryōči*) were added[11].

On 16th March 1291 Sang–ko fell from power and on the following 17th August he was executed. It is interesting to note that it was only after his disgrace that the *tsung–chih yüan* was finally abolished, as if to delete any institution closely connected with the disgraced minister. In the same year one *ch'ien–yuan* and one *t'ung ch'ien* were added to the staff of the Department.

The *kung–tê shih ssu*, which had continued an obscure existence, was abolished in 1294. It was resurrected in 1303 with the new name *yen–ch'ing ssu*; it was, however, brought back to his old task of supervising Buddhist rituals and ceremonies at the court, with no connection with Tibet. In 1311 it recovered its old name. It was exempted from the wholesale abolition of the religious agencies decreed in 1317, but in 1326 it was once more abolished;

[8] *YS*, 14.301.

[9] *YS*, 15.317.

[10] *YS*, 16.346.

[11] Unless otherwise stated, the general information on the *tsung–chih yüan* and *hsüan–cheng yüan* is drawn from *YS*, 87.2193–2194 (translated in Ratchnevsky 1937, 151–152, and *TPS*, 32–33). The best monograph is still Nogami 1950, 779–795.

this decision was confirmed and its duties were transferred to the *hsüan-cheng yüan* in 1329. Three years later it was again resurrected, and that is the last we hear of it[12].

The Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs underwent many changes in the following years. In 1295 one *yüan-p'an* was added. In 1300 the judges (which in the meantime had risen to four) were abolished, and so was one *yüan-shih* in 1308. But shortly after there was a downright inflation of the presidents of the Department: in 1323 there were six *yüan-shih*. A final reshuffling of the cadres took place in 1330, leaving the Department with the following personnel: ten *yüan-shih* (lower first grade), two *t'ung-chih* (upper second grade), two *fu-shih* (lower second grade), two *ch'ien-yüan* (upper third grade), three *t'ung-ch'ien* (upper fourth grade), three *yüan-p'an* (upper fifth grade), two *ts'an-i* (upper fifth grade), two *ching-li* (lower fifth grade), three *tu-shih* (lower seventh grade), one *chao-mo* (upper eighth grade), one *kuan-kou* (upper eighth grade), and a considerable secretarial staff (redactors, translators, messengers etc.).

As finally organized, the Department was one of the five topmost institutions of the empire. It was endowed with the privilege of selecting and appointing its own members, without being compelled to receive them from the Ministry for Personnel (*li-pu*). It was empowered, in the case of disturbances in Tibet, to set up a detached section (*fen-yüan*) which was sent out to restore peace. In case of large-scale operations, the Department took joint deliberations with the Supreme Military Council (*ch'u-mi yüan*).

III.2 – *The Imperial Preceptor*

This office came into existence late in 1269 or early in 1270, when Qubilai gave that title to 'P'ags-pa. Till the end of the Yüan dynasty it was filled by clergymen belonging to the Sa-skya school, but not always to the 'K'on family which held the hereditary abbotship[13]. As a matter of fact, of the nine persons who in

[12] See Nogami 1942, 132–139.

[13] The chronology of the Imperial Preceptors has been repeatedly studied by Inaba Shōju in a series of articles in Japanese. He summed up his findings in Inaba (in English). The Table in Han, II, 256, is less reliable.

the course of nearly a century filled this office, only five were members of the 'K'on family.

The *ti–shih* (Tib. *ti śri*, sometimes *bla c'en*) resided in Peking, and his official residence was the Me–tog ra–ba monastery within the enclosure of the imperial palace[14]. When he left China. he vacated the office and was replaced almost at once. After 'P'ags–pa the dignities of Sa–skya abbot and of Imperial Preceptor were kept strictly apart.

The Imperial Preceptor was a standing institution of the imperial government. He enjoyed extraordinary honours, disposed of large means[15] and exerted a paramount influence in the *tsung–chih yüan* and later in the *hsüan–cheng yüan*, one of its presidents being nominated by him. We should, nevertheless, always keep in mind that the *ti–shih*, however respected, was just an imperial official residing at the court, and could hardly extert any action contrary to the interests of the Mongols. In Central Tibet his decrees had the same validity as those of the emperor, but his writ ran only in the field of formal documents of the local administration. As shown by the Ža–lu documents, the Preceptor issued orders (*gtam*) under the authority (*luṅ*) of the emperor, having effects chiefly in the confirmation of estates and privileges. Beyond this, he had no direct share in the actual running of the government of Central Tibet.

Nor did, for that matter, the abbot of Sa–skya have any say in administrative matters. The very common misconception that the Sa–skya abbot was the temporal ruler of Tibet must be abandoned; abbot and Preceptor were always two different persons, and the abbot was strictly limited to the religious sphere, having no temporal rights outside the landed estates of his monastery.

As a last remark, all the Imperial Preceptors, from 'P'ags–pa to the end, were appointed at a young, sometimes very young age. This goes to show that spiritual, doctrinal and moral maturity of the candidate was not a necessary requisite; nor were they rebirths of earlier masters. And thus the appointment was foremost if not exclusively a political act.

14) Surprisingly, the Chinese name of the Me–tog ra–ba monastery has not yet turned up.
15) On the position of the Imperial Preceptor see *YS*, 202.4521 (= *TPS*, 31–32).

III.3 – *Imperial offices in Central Tibet.*

The first embryo of a Mongol administration in Central Tibet was represented by the various *yul bsruṅs* ("protectors of the land") appointed by the princes of Möngke's family among whom the patronage of the main Tibetan religious schools was distributed. They seem to have played a role similar to that of the Residents with the Indian princes under the British Raj. As pointed out above, in 1260 the institution was abolished and the *yul bsruṅs* were recalled. The one exception was the *yul bsrüṅs* Kökčü (Go go c'u, Go go c'e) who supervised the gTsaṅ and Western territories granted to Hülegü till the seventies of the 13th century [16]. We can suppose that Ilkhanid control of P'ag-mo-gru ceased to be effective after this period, although Kökčü's son rDo-rje-seṅ-ge Yar-luṅs-pa was an influent member of the government of that myriarchy in the late nineties [17].

The new organization established in 1268/9 ran on quite different lines. First of all, the official Mongol terminology of administration was introduced wholesale. As practically nothing of the sort was pre-existing, it filled a vacuum and came to stay for a long time, exerting some influence on the Tibetan vocabulary. The official language of the empire being Mongolian, the Tibetan terms for titles, offices etc. were transcribed from that language; in the very common case of Chinese terms, they were transcribed not directly, but from the form they had taken in Mongolian. Regrettably, not many Tibetan equivalents of the Mongol officialese (itself badly preserved) have come down to us.

Tibet was not formed into a regular province (*sheng*), in spite

[16] *LANG*, 245–247. Our scanty information about the activity of Kökčü ceases before the arrival of prince A'uruγči in 1276. As a mere hypothesis, we might suggest a connection with the fact that the families of hunter and falconers allotted as appanage to Hülegü in North China passed under the direct control of the imperial government in 1275, upon the express request of the Ilkhan. *YS*, 40.852, and Pelliot 1959, 5 and 120. Did the same thing happen in the Tibetan appanage of the Ilkhans?

[17] *GBYT*, II, 171a. The full name is found only in *HD-2*, 124. rDo-rje Yar-luṅs-pa was the son of the *yul bsruṅs*, but not a *yul bsruṅs* himself. The term still occurs in the 1297 decree of emperor Öljeitü concerning the immunities of the monks; *HD-1*, 39a. By that time it had apparently lost its strict official connotation.

of what a highly schematized passage of our main Tibetan source would make us believe (see later pp. 47–48). It became a territory of the empire endowed with that kind of institutions that were created in all the border regions. The whole Tibetan–speaking area was divided into three great units called *čölge* in Mongolian (transcribed as *c'ol k'a* in Tibetan) and *tao* in Chinese[18]. They were T'u–fan (mDo–smad), i.e. modern Amdo and portions of Northern Kham; Hsi–fan (mDo–K'ams or mDo–stod), i.e. modern Kham; and Wu–ssu–tsang (dBus–gTsaṅ), i.e. Central and Western Tibet. The organization of the T'u–fan and of the Hsi–fan *čölge* has been treated elsewhere[19]. Here we are concerned only with Wu–ssu–tsang.

The government of Central Tibet was supervised by a body called *hsüan–wei* [*shih*] *ssu* (Mongol *sön ui si*, hence Tibetan *swon wi si* or similar forms); the term is usually, but not very adequately, translated as Pacification Office. Its character is still rather uncertain, as the Chinese texts do not allow us to get a clear idea. It was a special agency employed both in China and in the frontier regions. In China its task was mainly one of intermediation between the civil and military instances on the local level and the provincial government (*hsing chung–shu sheng*), as well as the transmission of orders and memorials from and to the imperial government. Generally speaking, its functions were more supervisory than administrative. In the border areas the military aspects

[18] After the question had been studied by Pelliot 1930, 18–21, it has been accepted without further discussion that *čölge/c'ol k'a* corresponds to Chinese *lu*. I am not prepared at present to discuss this equivalence in the case of China proper, although I feel that some time it should be subjected to a closer scrutiny. But as far as Tibet is concerned, it is a matter of fact that in Yüan times each Tibetan *c'ol k'a* was controlled by a *hsüan–wei ssu*; and the jurisdiction of a *hsüan–wei ssu* was called *tao*, as explicitly stated in *YS*, 91.2308; cf. Hucker, n. 6306. For an actual mention of the three *tao* of Tibet see *YS*, 30.669–70, and cf. Han, II, 259. A *tao* usually supervised two or more *lu*; and indeed the *hsüan–wei ssu* controlling the three *lu* of dBus, gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris sKor–gsum is mentioned in *YS*, 87.2198. I think this demonstration is conclusive. Of course I do not want to overplay it. What I wanted to make clear is that the term *čölge*, whatever its employ in China, was introduced in Tibet by the Mongol administration to indicate not a *lu*, but the *tao* of a *hsüan–wei ssu*.

[19] See Petech 1988, 373–375. It should be pointed out in this connection that the jurisdiction of the T'u–fan *tao* and of the Hsi–fan *tao* extended both over districts (*lu*) under direct imperial administration and over autonomous chiefships and clans, while the Wu–ssu–tsang *tao* controlled only the autonomous government of Central Tibet.

were dominant and in many instances it was combined with the office of the regional commander (*tu yüan–shuai fu*)[20].

In the three Tibetan *čölge* or *tao* the *hsüan–wei ssu* was not connected with a provincial government (*hsing–sheng*) but depended directly from the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. The task of the dBus–gTsaṅ *hsüan–wei ssu* was to exercise a more or less strict control over the autonomous government of the country; day–to–day administration was apparently reserved to the *dpon c'en* and, at the local level, to the myriarchs.

The date of the establishment of the dBus–gTsaṅ *hsüan–wei ssu* is unknown, as neither the annals nor the monographs in the *YS* give us any clue. We may, however, suppose with great probability that it was set up in 1268, in connection with the census of Tibet taken in that year. It was certainly in existence in the seventies of the century, when its members met Karma Pakṣi on his return home[21].

The jurisdiction (*tao*; literally "route") of the *hsüan–wei ssu* extended over the three circuits (Chin. *lu*) of dBus, gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris sKor–gsum[22]. For the term *lu* there was no Mongol or Tibetan equivalent; it was simply transcribed (Mong. *lu*, Tib. *klu*). In Southern Tibet the authority of the *hsüan–wei ssu* was at first purely nominal, until the successful campaign of prince Temür Buqa and *dpon c'en* Ag–len in 1290 extended it also to Dvags–po and Koṅ–po. Following the events of that year, the imperial government decided to establish in Central Tibet a permanent military organization, in order to avoid repeated and expensive expeditions. On 9th November 1292, acting upon a proposal by the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, the administration of the three *lu* of dBus, gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris was converted into a combined *hsüan–wei shih ssu tu yüan–shuai fu*[23].

[20] On the *hsüan–wei ssu* in general see *YS*, 91.2308 (= Ratchnevsky 1937, 93). For the *hsüan–wei ssu tu yüan–shuai fu* see *YS*, 91.2309 (= Ratchnevsky 1937. 235).

[21] *KPGT*, 464. That disposes of the date of ca. 1280 suggested by Ch'en, 6. According to Duṅ–dkar Blo–bzaṅ–'p'rin–las's notes to *HD–2*, 358 n. 295, it was established in 1272. No source is quoted for this assertion, which is clearly based on the usual confusion of Central Tibet with T'u–fan (Amdo), where a *hsüan–wei ssu* was actually created in 1272.

[22] *YS*, 87.2198. Cf. Han, II, 262.

[23] *YS*, 17.367.

In its final shape, as tabulated in a section (ch. 87) of the monograph on bureaucracy in *YS*, the *hsüan-wei ssu* of Wu-ssu-tsang was staffed by five *hsüan-wei shih* (commissioners)[24], two *t'ung-chih* (assistant commissioner), one *fu-shih*, one *ching-li*, one *chen-fu* (garrison commander), one *pu-tao ssu-kuan* (head of the police). Several secondary agencies were subordinate to the *hsüan-wei ssu*. They were: two *yüan-shuai* (circuit commanders) in mNa'-ris sKor-gsum; two *tu yüan-shuai* (regional commanders) heading the Mongol units stationed in dBus and gTsaṅ; one *chao-t'ao shih* (commissioner for the punishment of rebels; a sort of chief of the military police?) in charge of the military office (*kuan-chün*) in Tan-li (?); and lastly one *chuan-yin* (transport officer) for the dBus-gTsaṅ region, perhaps in charge of the military postal relays (*dmag 'jam*). One of the *tu yüan-shuai* could be appointed to the higher rank of *sam du dben śa*, i.e. *san* [*lu*] *tu yüan-shuai*, commanding officer in all the three *lu*[25].

The imperial officers of the *hsüan-wei ssu* were paid in paper currency. Several Yüan banknotes have come to light in the Lha-k'aṅ c'en-mo at Sa-skya[26], which apparently served as headquarters of the *hsüan-wei ssu*. The use of the banknotes was probably restricted to the precincts of the official buildings, as Marco Polo expressly states that the Tibetans did not accept the Mongol paper currency.

We know very little of the actual function of the *hsüan-wei ssu*. The texts and documents show that at least the essential parts of this ponderous machinery existed and operated. As to its personnel, the number of Mongol officials who actually resided in Tibet is unknown; no Chinese was employed, at least not on the executive level. It stands to reason that the staff became more and more tibetanized with the passing of time. In 1332 at least a member of the *tu yüan-shuai* office and one *chao-t'ao shih* were Tibetans[27]. Mongol officials, however, continued to be stationed in Tibet till almost the end. In c. 1350 one Dingǰu was appointed *tu*

[24] This large number looks indeed odd. But this does not authorize us to suppose that it refers to a complete list of all the *shih* in succession, as does Ch'en, 8.

[25] One instance is registered in *LANG*, 509-510.

[26] "Hsi-tsang Sa-chia-ssu fa-hsien ti Yüan-tai chih-pi", in *Wen-wu* 1975, 9, 32-34; also Chang, 31.

[27] *LANG*, 294.

yüan–shuai of the Mongol troops, and Mongol soldiers in unknown but apparently small numbers were still stationed at Sa-skya in 1354 and 1356[28].

In the 14th century the *hsüan–wei ssu* underwent some changes. No resident *hsüan–wei shih* appears any longer in our sources (practically: in *LANG*) and apparently that office was left vacant; the usual formula at that time is "officials (*mi dpon rnams*; in the plural!) of the *swon wi si*". On the other side the title *tu yüan–shuai* become more frequent, being freely granted to Tibetan local lords; it continued in use long after the end of the Yüan.

The picture sketched above is mainly what we gain from the chapters on bureaucracy in the *YS*. According to them, the *hsüan-wei ssu* depended from the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, while the Imperial Preceptor, acting outside the channel of the Department, was empowered to issue decrees and to grant privileges in Tibet. However, one of the peculiarities of Yüan institutions was the interplay of different agencies in the same field and in the same area, with scant possibilities for us to get a clear idea of their relative responsibilities. Tibet did not escape this intervention of "outside" agencies. Some imperial princes holding commands and/or appanages in the regions to the north of Tibet could and did issue decrees (*lingji*) in matters of privileges and appointments, exactly like the Imperial Preceptor. The first example is the famous document in the Mongol language and the 'P'ags–pa script issued in 1305 by Qaišan, prince of Huai–ning, at that time commanding the army in Mongolia and later emperor, in favour of the lords (*sku žań*) of Ža–lu[29]. Later there were occasional interventions by the princes of Chen–hsi Wu–ching, descended from Qubilai's seventh son A'uruγči and holding the fief of Ho–chou. Down to the end they were the only branch of the imperial family entrusted with missions (military or otherwise) to Tibet. Most of their *lingji* were issued during the first decades of the 14th century by prince Čosbal, confirming privileges to the lords of Ža–lu[30], appointing a new *k'ri dpon* to P'ag–mo–gru etc. These documents were issued in the name of the

[28] *LANG*, 478, 527, 555.
[29] Published and translated by P. Pelliot in *TPS*, 619–624.
[30] Document preserved in the Tibetan original; *ZL*, n. X.

emperor to the members of the *hsüan-wei ssu* and to other officials in Tibet. It is not clear how these princes, who were not stationed in Central Tibet, could make appointments and confer privileges without any reference to the *hsüan-cheng yüan*, the supreme instance for Tibetan affairs. Probably this overlapping, which appears rather incongruous to us, was not felt as such in Yüan times.

Lastly, we remark that Sa-skya, as a centre of imperial authority, could serve as residence for exiled persons of high rank. Thus in 1321 a Korean prince was banished there[31], and in 1359 Esen Qudu, the son of the famous official T'ai-p'ing, was sentenced to banishment to Sa-skya after the fall and suicide of his father[32].

III.4 – *The dpon c'en*

The *dpon c'en* or temporal administrator appears in the Tibetan literary texts only; there is no mention of such an office either in the Ža-lu documents or in the Chinese sources. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the people and apparently also in reality he was the head of the administration.

The origin of this office goes back to the time of the departure of Sa-skya Paṇḍita for Liang-chou in 1244. On that occasion he entrusted the care of the temporalities of the see, and probably also the disciplinary supervision of the monks, to Śākya-bzaṅ-po. There was nothing extraordinary in this; even in the 20th century the abbot (*mk'an po*) was the nominal head of the monastery, but was confined to spiritual leadership and teaching, while the monastic discipline was left to the care of a *dbu mdzad* or a *dge bskos* and the administration of the estates was the task of a *gñer pa* or a *spyi gso*. It was the unprecedented length of the absence of the abbots that gave an enhanced weight and power to the administrator. This situation did not change during the whole of the Sa-skya – Yüan period: the abbot (*gdan sa c'en po*) remained the figurehead of the sect, but in secular matters he acted through the *dpon c'en*.

[31] Hambis 1957, 194.
[32] *YS*, 140.3372. On T'ai-p'ing (Ho Wei-i) see also Dardess, 84–87, 148.

The figure of the Sa-skya *dpon c'en* is defined in the Tibetan texts as follows. "He governs by the order (*bka'*) of the Lama and by the mandate (*luṅ*) of the emperor. He protects the two laws (*k'rims gñis*; religious and civil) and keeps the realm tranquil and the religion flourishing"[33]. From this text it can be inferred that the *dpon c'en* (who was usually a layman) was appointed by the emperor, apparently through the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, upon the presentation by the Imperial Preceptor; this last point, however, is inductive only. Anyhow, we certainly cannot go so far as to say that after 1280 "the *dpon c'en* was the emperor's man, not the Sa-skya-pa's man", as a Chinese scholar has put it[34].

Apart from these vague statements, the peculiar features of Tibetan policy, and above all the fact of the Mongol paramountcy, created a situation in which the *dpon c'en* managed in his own rights the landed estates of the Sa-skya monastery, while outside them he acted in his capacity as an imperial official subject to the control of the *hsüan-wei ssu*[35]; with this limitation, he was the head of the autonomous government of Central Tibet.

The exact relationship of the *dpon c'en* with the *hsüan-wei ssu* is a moot point. We are told that the first *dpon c'en* Śākya-bzaṅ-po received from Qubilai, possibly in 1264 or 1265, the title of *dBus-gTsaṅ zam klu gun min dbaṅ hu* coupled with the crystal button; this was Chin. *Wu-ssu-tsang san-lu chün-min wang-fu*, meaning "[member or head of the] princely administration for civil and military affairs in the three circuits (*lu*) of Central Tibet"[36]. This seems to indicate that the three *lu* were at first consi-

[33] *GBYT*, II, 39b. The text goes on to state that "there are also the *dpon c'en* of Gon-gyo in mDo-stod and of Gliṅ-ts'aṅ in mDo-smad, i.e. one in each of the three *c'ol k'a*". Taken at its face value, this statement would imply Sa-skya authority over the whole of North-Eastern and Eastern Tibet; to what extent it can be accepted as effective, is difficult to say. This problem, however, lies outside the scope of the present study. On the position of the Sa-skya *dpon c'en* see also *LANG*, 801, 806-807.

[34] Shen, 146.

[35] The Ža-lu documents issued by the Imperial Preceptor from Ta-tu (Peking) or Shang-tu are always adressed to the chief officials (*mi dpon*) of the *hsüan-wei ssu*; the term *dpon c'en* does not occur at all. Typical on this point is *ZL*, n. V, which issues instructions to "the officials of the *hsüan-wei ssu*, viz. 'Od-zer-seṅge and others"; this man was the twelfth *dpon c'en*, but the title is absent from the document.

[36] *HD-1*, 24b; *BA*, 216. *GBYT*, II, 39b, has a truncated and partly erroneous form

dered as an appanage (*klu gsum la dbaṅ na*) of imperial princes, referring either to appanages distributed to the members of the imperial family, or more likely to the special position held for a couple of years by the Pai-lan prince P'yag-na-rdo-rje. This title was then changed, and later the *dpon c'en* was styled *dhiṅ zam lu son wi pi* (*sic* for *si*) *du dben pa* (*sic* for *sa*) *hu*, transcribing Chin. *ting* (?) *san-lu hsüan-wei ssu tu yüan-shuai fu*, i.e." [member of] the Pacification Bureau and Office of the regional commander established in the three circuits". This new title was actually conferred in 1292 only. It was accompanied by an hexagonal silver seal and by the tiger-head button of rank.

All this seems to show that the *dpon c'en* was a permanent ex-officio member of the *hsüan-wei ssu*. Still, it is rather odd that the annals of the *YS* contain a couple of entries specially referring to the appointment of the *dpon c'en* of the day as Wu-ssu-tsang *hsüan-wei shih*, which would imply that such a nomination was an exceptional measure. It seems difficult at present to decide this question.

A standard list of the *dpon c'en* is supplied with some slight differences by four of our early sources: *HD-1*, 24b-25a; *GBYT*, II, 39a-43a; *BA*, 216-217; *DMS*, 185-188. The first, third and fourth texts are practically identical; the second is both slightly different and richer in information. The succession in these lists is not wholly beyond doubt if confronted with external pieces of evidence. Besides, most of the *dpon c'en* would remain for us mere names, were it not for collateral information drawn from other texts, and chiefly for the rich but somewhat confused materials supplied by *LANG*. The chronology is vague, and often it is simply a matter of guess.

During the second part of our period, i.e. in the 14th century, it was customary of the *dpon c'en* to perform a term of duty in the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs before his appointment, which implied that when he took office at Sa-skya he was fully conversant with the methods and wishes of the paramount power; whether this was just a matter of custom or an ac-

zam glu gun dben hu (in *GBYT*, I, 184a: *klu gun jin dben hu*); *dben hu* is possibly shortened from *yüan-(shuai-)fu*, office of the district commander.

tual official regulation, is more than we can tell. Of course this tended to make him a sort of *missus dominicus* at the side of and above his character as the representative of Sa–skya and Tibetan interests.

From another point of view, this custom represents for us a serious sources of confusion, as sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a *dpon c'en*, i.e. a *yüan–shih* of the Department, and a Sa–skya *dpon c'en*. If we add to this the practice of using this title by anticipation (i.e. before appointment) and after dismissal as a form of courtesy, one can realize what sort of small problems crops up at every moment while reading the texts of this period.

Besides the *dpon c'en*, we learn also of the existence of a Sa–skya council. The councillors (*gros pa*) are mentioned in *ZL* n. IX and appear rather frequently in *LANG*; it is not clear, however, what were their duties and their position in front of the *dpon c'en*. They were quite distinct from the members of the *hsüan–wei ssu*, held their authority from the abbot and were empowered to make appointments at a high level[37]. It seems that this institution came into being at the end of the period, when the authority of the Imperial Preceptor had waned and the division of the 'K'on family into four branches had practically cancelled the powers of the abbot.

III.5 – *The census*

The structure of Mongol administration in Central Tibet was set up in 1268–69, after the death of P'yag–na–rdo–rje and the expedition of K'er–k'e–ta. The normal procedure followed by the Mongols in newly–acquired territories followed a well–established pattern. The first step was always a census of the population. A small beginning had been made at some unspecified time in the fifties or sixties of the 13th century in the district of Ho–chou (Ga–c'u Rab–k'a); it had as its objects the lands belonging to the *naṅ so* (?) and the estates with their Chinese and Tibetan serfs

[37] To give an instance, when in ca. 1348 the myriarch of g.Ya'–bzaṅs died, his son Ts'ul–'bum–'od was appointed *k'ri dpon* by the Sa–skya *gros pa* and by the *hsüan–wei ssu*; *LANG*, 356.

granted to 'P'ags-pa[38]. But the basic census of Tibet was carried out in 1268, and for this purpose the new masters leaned heavily upon the prestige and experience of the *dpon c'en* Śākya-bzaṅ-po. The census (*dud graṅs rtsis pa*) was carried out by two teams of Tibetan officials, one headed by the imperials envoys (*gser yig pa*) A-kon and Miṅ-gliṅ, and the other by Su-t'u A-skyid; the *dpon c'en* coordinated the work of the two teams. The first group covered the districts from mṄa'-ris to Ža-lu, i.e. gTsaṅ, and the second the districts from Ža-lu to 'Bri-guṅ, i.e. dBus[39]. Thus the territory covered by the census was most of Central and parts of Western Tibet. Of course Kham and Amdo remained outside the range of the work of the surveyors.

The basic unit for the census operations, here as everywhere in the Mongol empire, was the household[40]. It was called *hor dud*, meaning literally "Mongol smoke", and indicated a homestead or household with its fire-place built up according to Mongol principles. The necessary components to form a *hor dud* were the following: "a house (*k'aṅ sa*) with at least five pillars supporting the roof; a strip of land sufficient for sowing twelve bushels (*k'al*) of Mongol seed (*hor son*); husband, wife, son, daughter and male and female servants, six persons in all; three ploughing bullocks, two goats and four sheep". Clearly this unit[41] referred to a middle-peasant family tilling government soil or its own land. It covered the agricultural elements of the population and disregarded the other component of Tibetan society, the nomadic herdsmen.

Our sources, reflecting the usual decimal structure of the Mongol army and people, supply a list of the multiples of the *hor dud*, in a quite rigid and purely theoretical scheme. Fifty *hor dud* formed a *rta mgo* (horse head). Two *rta mgo* formed a *brgya skor* (century). Ten *brgya skor* formed a *stoṅ skor* (chiliarchy). Ten *stoṅ skor* formed a *k'ri skor* (myriarchy). Ten *k'ri skor* formed a *glu* or *klu* (Chin. *lu*). Ten *glu* formed a *žiṅ* (Chin. *sheng*, province). Although Tibet's three *c'ol k'a* were insufficient to form a *žiṅ*, Qubi-

[38] *GBYT*, I, 168b.

[39] *GBYT*, I, 208b–209a, 216a, and II, 169b.

[40] See Allsen, 119–120.

[41] *GBYT* distinguishes also between the simple *dud* and the *rtsa ba'i dud*, "basic firestead". The meaning of this distinction is not clear.

lai graciously conceded provincial status, in consideration of the religious character of the country[42]. Of course it is easy to show that this beautifully symmetrical construction bears no relation with actual facts. As we shall see later, a *rta mgo* contained much less than fifty households; the relation of the chiliarchy to the myriarchy varied greatly, but normally was below ten; in the three Central Tibetans *lu* there were thirteen and not thirty myriarchies; and no rule ever existed about ten *lu* forming a province. Nor has any trace of a decree of Qubilai making Tibet a province come to light.

Another purely theoretical rule was that each myriarchy was to contain six thousand serf of the monasteries and temples (*lha sde*) and four thousand serfs of the noble houses (*mi sde*)[43]. The division existed, but the two figures had no practical importance nor actual application.

The detailed figures of the census will be shown in Chapter III. 7. Here it is sufficient to say that the total number of the *hor dud* was 15,690 for gTsaṅ *cum* mṄa'–ris, 30,763 for dBus, and 750 for the Yar–'brog myriarchy which was situated on the border between dBus and gTsaṅ. Our sources remark that these figures were taken from the paper–roll ledgers compiled by the *dpon c'en* Śākya–bzaṅ–po. The grand total is 37,203 *hor dud*, which means that according to the census the population of Central and Western Tibet amounted to ca. 223,000 units. This figure carries little weight, as it excluded not only the herdsmen, but also the cultivators and tradesmen who for one reason or another evaded the enumeration and registration. And yet, it compares not unreasonably with the population of China proper in Yüan times, as registered more or less with the same methods, which showed only about fifty millions of taxpayers, i.e. about 125 millions in all[44].

[42] *GBYT*, I, 193b–194a. *SKDR*, 65b–66a, gives the same list, with an addition: twenty–five small *hor dud* (*dud c'uṅ*) form a grand *hor dud* (*dud c'en*); two *dud c'en* form a *rta mgo*; etc.

[43] *GBYT*, I, 193b.

[44] Bielenstein, 82–85.

III.6 - *Taxation*

The paramount importance of the census lay in the fact that, in Tibet as in China, the lists of the households represented the basis upon which the whole administrative and fiscal machinery reposed. Starting from the lists and applying the general rules valid in the whole of the empire, the Mongols apportioned to the inhabitants of Tibet the three main obligations to which they were subjected: militia, tribute, labour service (*dmag k'ral las gsum*)[45]. Information on the practical functioning of these obligations is, however, extremely scanty[46].

1) The militia as a whole was called out on rare occasions and only two instances were recorded. One was in 1290 when the *dpon c'en* Ag-len gathered the militia for the campaign against 'Bri-guṅ. The other was in 1347, when the *dpon c'en* dBaṅ-brtson mobilized it, or part of it, to stem the progress of Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an, but failed completely in his attempt. Whether the term *k'rims dmag* employed on the latter occasion was the official name of the militia, is open to doubt. The only inferences possible from these scanty materials is that the Central Tibetan militia was summoned and commanded by the *dpon c'en* and that the contingents that formed it were supplied by each myriarchy, in proportion to its quota of *hor dud*[47].

2) The Tibetan *k'ral* corresponds to the Mongol *qalan*, i.e. the agricultural tax due to the imperial authorities. As far as we can see, it seems to have consisted of the tithes (*bcu k'a*), i.e. a levy of 10% of the farming produce; but the real basis of the tax

[45] This was a standard formula currently employed in official documents. See e.g. Schuh 1977, 106 (Text: line 49), 119 (Text: line 40), 126 (Text: line 6); Schuh 1981, 341 (Text: line 6).

[46] Some general remarks on taxation in Sa-skya and P'ag-mo-gru times can be found in *TPS*, 36. The details, however, are mostly drawn from the long edict issued by the rGyal-rtse ruler in 1440, published in *TPS*, 745-746. They refer to a later period and to a rather different political horizon, and I do not feel justified in employing those materials for the Sa-skya period.

[47] The Tibetan myriarchy was not a primarily military unit like the Mongol *tümen*. The *hor dud* it contained were demographical and fiscal units, and to take them as the number of auxiliary soldiers to be supplied by the *k'ri skor* (as does Allsen, 193-194) is an assumption not supported by the Tibetan texts. The latter never say that each *hor dud* had to supply one militiaman.

remains unknown and the tithe itself appears in two tantalizingly short mentions only[48]. We may surmise that it was paid in nature. From some stray reference we gather that the economic importance, i.e. the fiscal classification of a myriarchy, was often expressed in terms of bushels (*k'al*) of barley[49].

3) Compulsory labour due directly to the imperial government was restricted to the families registered in special lists in each myriarchy and assigned to the service (Mong. *ulaγa*) of the various postal relays, on which see III.8. Corvée due to the *k'ri dpon* seems to have been utilized chiefly for building purposes (*mk'ar las*), i.e. for the construction or restoration of forts, temples, monasteries and religious monuments such as the *sku 'bum* in honour of deceased great Lamas.

III.7 – *The myriarchies* (*k'ri skor*)

The words *k'ri sde* (equivalent to *k'ri skor*) and *k'ri dpon* were not unknown in the monarchy period. They are found in the documents of the 8th–9th centuries from Central Asia[50], and seem to have been used only for the Central Asian dependencies and not for subdivisions of Tibet proper.

The *k'ri skor* of the Yüan period had a quite different origin, being a novel institution introduced by the Mongols. The Mongol rank of *tümen*, chief of ten thousand, originally designating the largest military unit and the highest ranking officer, received a rather different content when Qubilai integrated it in the administrative machinery of his Chinese territories. The *tümen*, Chin. *wan–hu*, became a middle–ranking civil and military officer. When his assignment was particularly important, he was at the head of an executive office (*wan–hu fu*) with an adequate staff. At first he governed a circuit (*lu*); later be became a lower official in its administration, or was placed in charge of a sub–prefecture (*hsien*). He remained, however, always an essentially military officer.

We have no means to ascertain when the *k'ri skor* (*tümen*)

48) *LANG*, 333, 348.

49) *LANG*, 531–532.

50) F.W. Thomas, *Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, II, London 1951, 30 and 121.

system was introduced in Tibet. According to the usual tradition, when in 1253 'P'ags–pa imparted to Qubilai the basic initiation in Buddhism, the prince presented him with the thirteen *k'ri skor* of Central Tibet[51]. This is of course a legend, as no prince could be empowered to make such a grant. Keeping to the ascertained facts, when in 1251 the appanages system was introduced in Tibet, the word *k'ri skor* does not yet appear and we are merely informed that each of the princes was absolute master (*dgos bdag*) in his Tibetan territories[52]. An acceptable date for the final organization of the *k'ri skor* system would be 1268; no text, however, contains anything on this subject.

As shown by various passage in *DMS* and *LANG*, the title and authority of a *k'ri dpon* proceeded in all cases from a special document of appointment issued by the imperial government. To give an example, in 1322 Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was appointed *k'ri dpon* of P'ag–mo–gru by an official letter (*bka' śog*) of the Lama (i.e. the Imperial Preceptor Kun–dga'–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an, then present at Sa–skya) and a document (*bca' hu*, Chin. *cha–fu*) of the head of a detached section (*hun dben śa*, Chin. *fen–yüan–shih*) of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. The appointment became valid when the documents were publicly promulgated (*sgrags pa*) and a special ceremony of thanks (*li śaṅ*) was performed; only then the new incumbent could take possession of his office[53].

The number of thirteen *k'ri skor* is consecrated in the tradition; but their list varies in the several sources. Most of them have been tabulated long ago by Tucci[54]; we can now add the one found in *GBYT*, II, 214a–215b, which was later copied by Kloṅ–rdol Bla–ma. It would be hardly profitable to compare these lists; it seems methodically safer to start directly from the occurrences of the single *k'ri skor* in our earlier sources.

The myriarchies are usually divided into two groups, six situated in gTsaṅ *cum* mṄa'–ris, six in dBus, and one across the border between dBus and gTsaṅ. The census of 1268 allotted to

[51] A somewhat diverging account is found in *GBYT*, I, 198b–199a, more or less closely followed by the Eulogy of gNas–rñiṅ.

[52] *LANG*, 232.

[53] *LANG*, 289–290.

[54] *TPS*, 691.

each myriarchy a number of population units (*hor dud*), as determined in the official registers drawn up by A–kon and Miṅ–gliṅ for gTsaṅ and by A–skyid for dBus [55]. The Chinese text too gives a list of the *wan–hu* districts of Central Tibet [56], the greater part of which can be identified with the Tibetan names of the *k'ri skor*. Some of them, however, are either unknown to the Tibetan texts, or give evidence of the wish of the imperial government to boost up some smaller units, not recognized as myriarchies by the Tibetans but strategically important to the Mongols.

All the myriarchies can be localized on the modern maps [57].

In gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris:

A,B,C. – mṄa'–ris sKor–gsum, the three myriarchies (*skor gsum*) being Gu–ge, Pu–raṅ and Maṅ–yul. Although they count as three units in the lists, they are seldom mentioned separately and are treated as one. Actually these vast but thinly populated territories can be divided into two parts. To the West, around Lake Manasarovar and in the upper basin of the Satlej, the kingdom of Gu–ge with its autonomous dependency of Pu–raṅ was to all practical purposes independent, and the only sign of the imperial power was the extension to those regions of the postal system and its relays [58]. In Eastern mṄa'–ris, sometimes called mṄa'–ris sMad, in the upper basin of the gTsaṅ–po, the Yüan – Sa–skya suzerainty was better affirmed. Some territories, the extent of which is impossible to define, belonged originally to the appanage of Hülegü but passed rather early in the hands of the Sa–skya–pa, under circumstances that will be related later. The easternmost part of mṄa'–ris was taken up by the largely autonomous princedom of Maṅ–yul Guṅ–t'aṅ with its capital mṄa'–ris rDzoṅ–k'a (or lJoṅ–dga'); its relations with Sa–skya were always cordial, being cemented by repeated matrimonial alliances with the 'K'on family [59]. According to our text, the three myriarchies of mṄa'–ris

[55] *GBYT*, I, 216a.

[56] *YS*, 87.2198–2200.

[57] When no other reference is quoted, the identifications are based upon Ferrari.

[58] In this period Gu–ge had become a chiefship quite distinct and independent from the kingdom of Ya–ts'e; the latter is mentioned under its own name in *LANG* and elsewhere. On the situation in Western Tibet during the 13th and 14th century see Petech 1980c.

[59] Maṅ–yul is often confused with Mar–yul, i.e. Ladakh, but this is certainly not the case here. According to the list in *GBYT*, in Yüan times Maṅ–yul consisted of the three Himalayan valleys of Blo–bo, Do'l–po and lJoṅs–dga'. In spite of the valuable spade work done

contained an aggregate of 2635 *hor dud*, "plus other 767 *hor dud* subject to the *mṅa' bdag* descended from the ancient kings". *mṄa'–bdag* was the regular title of the ruler of Guṅ–t'aṅ, and this prevents us from identifying him with the king of Gu–ge, whose title was *c'os rgyal*, and later *jo bo bdag po*. For the Mongol authorities, Na–li–su–ku–êrh–sun (mṄa'–ris sKor–gsum) was a single military district, placed under the control of two district commanders (*yüan–shuai*).

D. – Northern La–stod (La–stod Byaṅ) formed the westernmost part of gTsaṅ and was the hereditary fief of the Byaṅ family. At the end of this period, after 1350, its centre was the monastery of Byaṅ Ṅam–riṅs[60]. The fief was closely connected with Southern La–stod (La–stod Lho), with its capital Śel–dkar–rdzoṅ, ruled by a family that gave two *dpon c'en* to the Sa–skya government[61]. The two combined *k'ri skor* numbered 2250 *hor dud*, ecclesiastical serfs (*lha sde*) not included, of which 1089 belonged to Northern La–stod. These two connected myriarchies do not appear in the Chinese list.

E. – C'u–mig; the monastery of that name is nowadays an empty emplacement with an unassuming small chapel, to the south–west of sNar–t'aṅ[62]. The *k'ri skor* contained 3003 *hor dud* and was divided into four *stoṅ skor*. The Chinese list includes the Ch'u–mi myriarchy. The place, which was the theatre of the religious conference of 1277, was a private estate of the bŽi–t'og branch of the Sa–skya family. Its proprietary rights and revenue was maintained to them even when C'u–mig passed in the hands of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, who appointed a steward there and made it a favorite place for important political meetings[63].

by Jackson 1976, 44–47, and Jackson 1984, *passim*, the history of this splinter of the old Tibetan monarchy remains to be written. It continued in existence until it was conquered and annexed by the gTsaṅ–pa ruler in 1620.

[60] The La–stod Byaṅ chiefs originated from Mi–ñag, i.e. the Tangut kingdom. A special work (*BYANG*) supplies their genealogy. Sections are dedicated to them in *DMS*, 191–192, and *HT5D*, 65b–67a (= *TPS*, 631–632).

[61] *LANG*, 791–792.

[62] No special source on C'u–mig seems to exist. On the place itself see *IT*, IV/1, 59–60, and *TPS*, 683 note 65.

[63] In the 14th century C'u–mig belonged to the *gdan sa c'en po* mK'as–btsun, who bequeathed it to his son Kun–dga'–rin–c'en. See *LANG*, 611, 617–618, 677, and *BRNT*, 104b. Cf. also *KDNT*, 27b.

F. – Ža–lu, in the Ñaṅ–c'u valley. Owing to the repeated matrimonial ties of its feudal house (the lCe) with Sa–skya, the Ža–lu *k'ri dpon* was normally styled *sku žaṅ*, "maternal uncle"[64]. The myriarchy contained 3892 *hor dud* and was divided into four *stoṅ skor*. The Chinese text calls it Cha–lu, with a *t'ien–ti li–kuan–min wan–hu*. This was the only *k'ri skor* where some documents of the Yüan period have been preserved. In the 14th century its monastery became famous as the seat of the great scholar Bu–ston Rin–c'en–grub.

The *GBYT* contains also traces of another list, which is identical with that in the Eulogy of gNas–rñiṅ. mṄa'–ris sKor–gsum is reckoned as one *k'ri skor*; La–stod North and South, C'u[–mig] and Žal[–lu] are four myriarchies; sBra, Ber and K'yuṅ together form one myriarchy[65]. These last three names find a counterpart in a hagiographical text, according to which Be–ri, Ziṅ and K'yuṅ acted as donors[66]. Ber or Be–ri is the Ber–ri or Bi–ri or Bi–ri of Sa–skya Paṇḍita's times. But the name of this consolidated *k'ri skor* is not given, nor can its three components be localized.

Not all the population of gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris was included in the six myriarchies. Our text continues giving a list of the gŽuṅ–pa (?) ecclesiastical serfs (*lha sde*) as follows[67]:

Place	Number of *hor dud*
Maṅ–mk'ar–ba with Dril–c'en	120
gTsaṅ–pa	87
Bo–doṅ Ri–seb	77
mDo–spe dmar–ba c'ig	125
Grom–luṅ Ra–sa k'a–sgaṅ–pa	75 (*rtsa ba*)
Jo–bo'i k'ri–'og	35
Ra–sa snaṅ–kar	30
Mar–la–t'aṅ–pa	10

Summing up these figures, the total is stated to be 606 *hor dud*. Actually it is only 559. So either one item has dropped out, or this is but one of the several arithmetical vagaries to which the author of the *GBYT* was prone.

64) *GBYT*, II, 153b, and *KDNT*, 27b.
65) Genealogies of Ža–lu ap. *TPS*, 659.
66) Biography of Saṅs–rgyas–yar–byon (1203–1272) in *CBGT*, 78a.
67) *GBYT*, I, 214b–215a.

The text continues: "Then there were 131 *hor dud* of tradesmen (read *las sgo*). Besides, there were other secular and ecclesiastical serfs included in no *k'ri skor*, viz.:

Place	Number of *hor dud*
Ru–'ts'ams	360
Gya–ba agricultural and pastoral (*bod 'brog*)	150
T'aṅ–ts'a	150 (*rtsa ba*)
Ts'oṅ–'dus	140

For the private estate (? *dge ru*)[68] of the Sa–skya *naṅ pa*, including fields, lands and servants, [in the] *skor* of La–stod Lho and of Sa–skya ...,[69] summing up all these, the total is 330. *dGe ru* Lho–gdoṅ 40 and Bra–ts'a a–btsan 46. [The final sum is] 3630. These are not included in the myriarchies".

It is very difficult to understand how this figure is reached, and I suspect we are confronted with a duplication of the same figure attributed to 'Bri–guṅ immediately after. What is worse, we have here a string of local names and of technical terms which at present defy any attempt at a reasonable interpretation. Rather ironically, this part of the text, which is clearly corrupted, bears the title "A supreme lamp of the words which clarify dBus and gTsaṅ".

In dBus

G. – 'Bri–guṅ, the seat of the hierarchs of the same name, who till 1290 led the opposition against the Sa–skya–pa and about 1350 tried to check the rise of the P'ag–mo–gru–pa[70]. Their headquarters was 'Bri–guṅ mT'il. 'Bri–guṅ was not usually termed a *k'ri skor* and was governed, under the nominal authority of the abbot, by an administrator called *sgom pa*. It contained 3630 *hor dud*, both agricultural and pastoral (*bod 'brog*). Although the phonetical correspondance is of the vaguest, it may be identical

[68] The obscure term *dge ru* (my translation is just a guess) occurs also in *LANG*, 496: Ya–'brog *dge ru*.

[69] *Ko dre gro c'uṅ g.yas ru daṅ | daṅ ra daṅ ni 'dar mi ñeg*. I did not succeed in getting the meaning of this obscure passage.

[70] 'Bri–guṅ was founded, or rather re–founded, in 1179 by 'Bri–guṅ C'os–rje (1143–1217). See *BA*, 566–610; *DMS*, 195–201; *HT5D*, 63b–65b (= *TPS*, 630–631).

with Mi-êrh-chün of the Chinese list[71], an administratively important myriarchy staffed by a *daruyači*, besides the *wan-hu*; it had two dependencies: the Ch'u-hou-chiang-pa *ch'ien-hu* and the Pu-êrh-pa *kuan*.

H. – 'Ts'al-pa or mTs'al-pa was the seat of a particular school[72]. Its centre was the 'Ts'al Guṅ-t'aṅ monastery, to the East of Lhasa on the left bank of the sKyid-c'u. Its *k'ri dpon* governed a large district, including the city of Lhasa and containing 3702 *hor dud*. The Chinese spelt the name as Ch'a-li-pa; it had a *t'ien-ti li-kuan-min wan-hu*.

I. – P'ag-mo-gru; its religious centre (originally closely connected with 'Bri-guṅ) was the monastery of gDan-sa mT'il (or T'el) on the northern bank of the Tsangpo, while the headquarters of the *k'ri dpon* was sNe'u-gdoṅ (long since in ruins) in the lower Yar-luṅ valley. It was the centre of Hülegü's appanage and the residence of his representative (*yul bsruṅs*). Originally the appanage included parts of mṄa'-ris in the West and gÑal, Lo-ro, Byar, g.Ye etc. in the East and South-East; all of these territories were lost in the 13th century, It was left to Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an, *k'ri dpon* since 1322, to retrieve the fortune of his family, the rLaṅs, and to become the ruler of Central Tibet[73]. The *k'ri skor* contained 2438 *hor dud*. The Chinese text transcribes the name of the myriarchy as Po-mu-ku-lu.

One of the dependencies that broke away from P'ag-mo-gru about 1300[74] was T'aṅ-po-c'e in the 'P'yoṅs-rgyas valley, with only 150 *hor dud*. It was, however, of some importance to the Mongols, as the Chinese source lists T'ang-pu-chih-pa with four chiliarchs (*ch'ien-hu*, Tib. *stoṅ dpon*), but no *wan-hu*.

J. – g.Ya'-bzaṅs. The g.Ya'-bzaṅs monastery cannot be located, but seems to have been situated somewhere in gÑal or neighbouring districts[75]. Originally it was merely a chiliarchy

[71] This identification was first proposed by Han, II, 265-266.

[72] On the 'Ts'al-pa monastery and school see *HD-2*, 126-149; *BA*, 716-717; *DMS*, 194; *HT5D*, 61b-63b (= *TPS*, 629-630).

[73] On P'ag-mo-gru see *GBYT*, II, 169b; *BA*, 542-595; *DMS*, 203-204; *HT5D*, 67a-90a (= TPS, 632-641). A study on P'ag-mo-gru after Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an is found in Sato 1986, 89-171, largely based on *TPS*.

[74] *LANG*, 234.

[75] The g.Ya'-bzaṅs or g.Yam-bzaṅs monastery was founded in 1206 by C'os-rje sMon-lam-pa (1169-1233). The lineage of its abbots is found in *BA*, 652-659. Cf. *DMS*,

under P'ag–mo–gru. Then a decree of Qubilai separated it from Hülegü's appanage and granted to its steward some lands in gÑal. This small estate was later expanded to include the whole of gÑal and other districts, so that in the Tibetan list g.Ya'–bzaṅs appears as a *k'ri skor* of 3000 *hor dud.* Its *k'ri dpon* were the foremost opponents of the P'ag–mo–gru–pa, and their downfall signalled the establishment of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's rule in dBus[76]. This myriarchy was considered of particular importance by the imperial government, being the seat of a myriarchy office (*wan–hu fu*) staffed by a *daruγači*, a *wan–hu*, a *ch'ien–hu* and a postal relays inspector (Tan–li *t'o–t'o–ho–sun*).

K. – rGya–ma, with its centre at the rGya–ma Rin–c'en–sgaṅ monastery to the East of Lhasa[77]. rGya–ma is usually coupled with Bya–yul in the same region[78], ruled by the sTag–sna family. The combined myriarchy was the most populous of all, with 5850 *hor dud.* Nevertheless, it played a rather effaced role. The Chinese list separately the myriarchies of Chiá–ma–wa (rGya–ma–ba) and of Cha–yu–wa (Bya–yul–ba), although in 1350 Bya–yul was a mere *stoṅ skor*[79].

L. – A special case is presented by sTag–luṅ, the seat of the school of that name, in the Talung valley to the West of Lhasa[80]. It contained 500 *hor dud* only and it is expressly stated that its feudatory never held the title of *k'ri dpon*[81]. Yet it seems to be included by *GBYT* in its list, and the Chinese source too shows Ssu–t'a–lung–la as a myriarchy. In any case this myriarchy (if it ever was one) played no role at all.

193–194; *KPGT*, 414.

[76] *LANG*, 244, 247–249.

[77] The rGya–ma monastery was founded by sGyer–sgom (1090–1171). See *HD–I*, 28a; *DMS*, 194–195; *KPGT*, 333. The abbot lineage is found in *BA*, 286–305.

[78] The Bya–yul monastery was founded by Bya–yul–pa (1076–1138). The 'Bri–guṅ–pa destroyed it in 1285, but it was rebuilt in 1291 after the downfall of 'Bri–guṅ. See *HD–I*, 28a; *KPGT*, 334–335. The list of the abbots is given in *BA*, 311–317.

[79] *LANG*, 652.

[80] sTag–luṅ was founded in 1180 by bKra–śis–dpal (1142–1210); during our period it was always intimately connected with Sa–skya. See *DMS*, 201–202. The lineage of its abbots is found in *BA*, 610–652.

[81] DMS, 201.

Once more the *GBYT* adds a list of smaller estates in dBus unconnected with any *k'ri skor*. They are:

Place	Number of *hor dud*	
bSam–yas P'u–mda'	62	
'C'iṅ–p'u–ba	8	
rDo'i P'u–mda	70	
dGuṅ–mk'ar–ba with 'P'raṅ–pa	70	*rtsa ba'i dud c'en*[82]
ecclesiastical serfs subject to Lha–pa,	600	*hor dud c'en*
besides, included in the estate of Gru–gu–sgaṅ of gTsaṅ–la–yar–gtogs–pa[83]	232	
K'a–rags–pa	88	
Rab–btsun–pa	90	
'Brug–pa[84]	225	
T'aṅ–po–c'e–pa	150	

On the border between gTsaṅ and dBus

M. – Ya–'brog (less correctly spelt Yar–'brog), the region of the Yamdrok–tso or Palti lake. At first a part of this district had been bestowed upon the P'ag–mo–gru hierarchs in order to defray the expenses of the ritual lamps to bKra–śis–'od–'bar at gDan–sa mT'il. After Ag–len's campaign against the 'Bri–guṅ–pa in 1290, it was granted as a *k'ri skor* to the sNa–dkar–rtse family, to whom Ag–len belonged[85]. The old texts often call it Ya–'brog of the Sixteen *leb* (*leb bcu drug*), a term of unknown meaning. It was a small myriarchy with only 750 *hor dud*, and is absent from the Chinese list. According to *GBYT* there was also a Byaṅ–'brog *k'ri*

[82] As said above, *rtsa ba* remains obscure; and in spite of the explanation in *SKDR* (see above), one *dud c'en* in this instance cannot possibly correspond to twenty–five *hor dud* (*dud c'uṅ*).

[83] gTsaṅ–la–yar–gtogs (litt.: "what is above the gTsaṅ pass") is a geographical term of fairly common occurrence in *LANG*, but practically unknown elsewhere. I am unable to determine its import.

[84] The fortunes of the later famous and influential 'Brug–pa sect started after this period. Still, we are told that Toγan Temür took C'os–rje Seṅ–ge–rgyal–po (1289–1326) of 'Brug Ra–luṅ as his chaplain and presented him with 1900 (!) *hor dud*. In the same vein, his son Kun–dga'–seṅ–ge (1314–1347) is said to have received gifts from the emperor Yisün Temür and (prince) Temür Buqa; *PMKP*, 304a. Both statements are chronologically impossible.

[85] See *DMS*, 192–193.

skor, which came into being later; its relation with Ya–'brog is unknown.

Some other names of myriarchies occur occasionally. Thus a 'Gur–mo *k'ri skor* is mentioned in *HT5D* only[86]. Śaṅs *k'ri skor* appears in *HT5D* and *DCBT*; actually it was the name of an estate granted by the emperor to the *dpon c'en* rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po[87]. Kloṅ–rdol Bla–ma omits Śaṅs and 'Gur–mo, but adds Byaṅ–'brog. Lastly, *HT5D* shows the unimportant T'aṅ–po–c'e in the place of sTag–luṅ.

The Chinese list includes some names that cannot be brought back to Tibetan originals. They are: Wu–ssu–tsang *t'ien–ti li–kuan–min wan–hu*, perhaps a doublet; Su–êrh–ma–chia–wa *t'ien–ti li–kuan–min kuan*; Sa–la *t'ien–ti li–kuan–min kuan*; and Ao–lung–ta–la *wan–hu*, perhaps connected with A'o–mdo of the Tibetan texts[88].

From the above materials it would appear that the "thirteen *k'ri skor*" was a traditional but somewhat floating figure and that there was no general consensus about it; of course, the myriarchies may also have varied during the hundred years of the Yüan – Sa–skya régime. In order to draw up an acceptable list we have to take into account the Tibetan texts (mainly *GBYT*), the Chinese sources, and the evidence afforded by the distribution among the myriarchies of the *hor dud* of the compulsory corvée for the mail service. The most likely result would be:

gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris	dBus	dBus–gTsaṅ border
(Gu–ge)	P'ag–mo–gru	Ya–'brog
(Pu–raṅ)	'Ts'al–pa	
Maṅ–yul Guṅ–t'aṅ	rGya–ma	
La–stod North and South	Bya–yul	
C'u–mig	'Bri–guṅ	
Ža–lu	g.Ya'–bzaṅs	

This list shows that most of the really important myriarchies

[86] There were several Gur–mo ('Gur–mo, mGur–mo). One was quite near to Ža–lu; today only a few ruins are left; *IT*, IV/1, 70. Tucci rightly points out the improbability of a *k'ri skor* headquarters so close to Ža–lu. More likely our Gur–mo was the one described in the *Bod rGya ts'ig mdzod c'en mo*, Ch'eng–tu 1985, *s.v.*, as situated in the gTiṅ–skyes region in Southern gTsaṅ. There were a monastery and school there, which were protected by Möngke *qayan*. See above p. 11.

[87] On this donation see later.

[88] *LANG*, 320, 440, 499, 507–508. It was not far from mTs'o–sna.

were situated in dBus, while those of gTsaṅ – mṄa'–ris were either purely theoretical or closely tied to the ruling power; this was to be expected, since gTsaṅ was the region where Sa–skya was situated and thus no strong feudality could be allowed to continue there. When the paramountcy shifted from Sa–skya to P'ag–mo–gru, this meant also a victory of dBus in the age–long duel with gTsaṅ; exactly as the rise of the gTsaṅ–pa rulers in 1565 meant the swinging of the pendulum to the opposite end.

An interesting question is the origin the myriarchies. The three *k'ri skor* of mṄa'–ris were splinters of the old monarchy and their local rulers or princes belonged to the royal dynasty. Almost all the remaining *k'ri skor* were the political projections of influential sections of the Buddhist clergy, the abbots delegating power to an administrator (as at 'Bri–guṅ, where the *sgom pa* held about the same place as the *dpon c'en* at Sa–skya) or because the estate of a monastery passed in the hands of local lords. This goes to show that the Mongols and their Sa–skya protegees utilized for their ends the pre–existing centres of religious and/or political power, and in this way avoided rousing the opposition of long–standing vested interests. The long–drawn opposition and final revolt of the 'Bri–guṅ–pa indicate that this aim was not always achieved. It should be emphasized that normally the abbots did not concern themselves with, nor were involved in the politics of their *k'ri skor*.

Of the internal administration of the myriarchies we know next to nothing, and the tiny bits of information available refer to P'ag–mo–gru only. Whether we are justified in extending them to the other *k'ri skor* is a moot point.

A steward (*gñer pa*) was in charge of the routine administration. Revenue presents several problems, the most serious one being the difficulty in distinguishing myriarchy revenue from imperial revenue, if such a distinction did exist at all. Local revenue seems to be alluded to under the general term *'bab* or *babs*. Only once do we find the term *nor k'ral*[89], meaning perhaps a tax on merchants and tradesmen.

Slightly better is our knowledge of the armed forces of the *k'ri skor* during the twilight of Sa–skya power. At their basis there

[89] *LANG*, 652.

was the local militia, merely armed rustics of little military value. A higher level was represented by the *bu rta*, a term which is fairly common in *LANG* and occurs sporadically elsewhere; it means literally "son – horse", Whatever the origin of the name, the context shows that it designated a body of warriors (almost certainly horsemen) standing in a special personal relation with the chief. They were employed as a shock troop, to be employed in expeditions which required daring and speed.

At a still higher level were the *bza' pa*, meaning something like "table–mates"; the name seems to occur in *LANG* only. They were a body of particularly trusted men, employed (it appears) as life–guards and as garrison in particularly important places[90]. I suspect that they may have belonged to the clan of the chief, taken in its widest sense[91]. Both *bu rta* and *bza' pa* disappear after the Yüan period.

III.8. – *The mail service*

One of the very first institutions introduced by the Mongols in the territories conquered by them or acknowledging their suzerainty was the mail service (Mong. *ǰam*, hence Tib. *'jam*)[92]. Its beginnings go back to Čingis Khan himself. Later it developped enormously, starting from the traditional Mongol basis and accepting most of the advanced elements supplied by the Chinese mail service. It represented the nerve system of Mongol rule, as it enabled the imperial government at Ta–tu or Shang–tu to be supplied with timely and correct information and to despatch speedily adequate orders.

As far as the Tibetan countries are concerned, a beginning was made when Möngke *qayan*, at the time of Uriangqadai's ex-

[90] For instance, in 1358 a body of 130 *bza'-pa* with their camp followers, 200 men in all, were placed as garrison in the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo at Sa–skya, when Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal-mts'an occupied that administrative centre; *LANG*, 683.

[91] On *bu rta* and *bza' pa* see my forthcoming paper "Yüan official terms in Tibetan", to be printed in the Proceedings of the International Seminar of Tibetan Studies held at Narita (Japan) in late summer 1989.

[92] On the Mongol word *ǰam* see Kotwicz 1950. On the Yüan mail in general see Olbricht, passim, Almost nothing has been published on the Yüan mail in Tibet. I can only refer to the few sentences in Roerich, 48, and in Shih, 139–140.

pedition to lJaṅ (Yünnan) in 1253–1257, ordered two mail relays to be established in mDo–smad (Amdo), linked with the pre–existing Chinese mail. Two other stations were set up in mDo–stod (Kham), at Ga–re and Go–dpe; they were particularly useful for the communications with dBus–gTsaṅ[93]. Ga–re and Go–dpe are evidently the same as the two postal stages called Ho–li and Hu–pi in a Chinese text relating to 1292[94]. An approximate idea of their relative positions is supplied by the itinerary of the 3rd Karma–pa: from Sog–zam (on which see later) he passed through mTs'o–la–me–'bar, Ga–re, Go–be and the C'om pass, arriving eventually at Karma and Lha–steṅs in Kham[95].

The postal service in Central Tibet was established in 1269[96], when Qubilai entrusted the official Das–sman (Mong. Dašman)[97] with the task of organizing the mail relays system on the Chinese model, and at the same time proclaiming the Mongol sovereignty over Tibet. He was granted ample means from the imperial treasury for his task and was also appointed *rtsa ba'i dpon c'en*, i.e. president, of the *son byiṅ dben* (*hsüan–cheng yüan*)[98]. The text is at pains to point out that this was the first instance of the permanent stationment of an imperial officer in Tibet[99].

Somewhat later the official I–ji–lag was sent to Tibet as postmaster–general with the rank of *t'oṅ ji* (Chin. *t'ung–chih*)[100]. This is probably the same man as the official I–ch'ih–li (Ičilig) who in 1270 was in charge, together with Tai–mu–tê, of the organization of the mail relays in Yünnan and neighbouring zones[101]. He is also the *mi c'en* E–ji–lag through whom Qubilai in the eighties of

[93] *GBYT*, I, 198a.

[94] *YS*, 17.369.

[95] *KARMA*, 182a; *KPGT*, 489–490.

[96] This date is supplied in *KPGT*, 796.

[97] The *hsüan–cheng shih* Dašman was the father of Büretü who married a daughter of Üš Temür (d. 1295), prince of Kuan–p'ing; Hambis 1954, 148.

[98] As a matter of fact, the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs was given that name in 1288 only.

[99] *GBYT*, I, 145b–146b, and II, 17b–18a.

[100] *GBYT*, I, 147b.

[101] *Ching–shih ta–tien* ap. *YLTT*, 19417, 4a. On the *Ching–shih ta–tien*, an official collection of regulations and decrees compiled in 1331, see e.g. Franke 1949, 25–34, and Schurmann 1956, ix–xiv. The work is lost, but the chapters on the imperial mail are preserved in one of the existing fragments of the huge encyclopaedia *YLTT*.

the 13th century invited to China the famous scholar and traveler U-rgyan-pa (1230–1309)[102].

The postal route (*'jam lam*) stretched from the winter capital Ta-tu to Sa-skya[103]. Its Tibetan section had three pivot points: Dan-tig Lha-k'aṅ in mDo-smad (Amdo), gTso-mdo bSam-grub in mDo-stod and Sa-skya in gTsaṅ[104]. The whole route from the Chinese-Tibetan border to Sa-skya was divided into twenty-seven[105] major stages (*'jam c'en*) and several minor stages (*'jam c'uṅ*). Of the *'jam c'en*, seven were situated in mDo-stod and eleven in Central Tibet. Of the latter, seven were the responsibility of the myriarchies of dBus:

a) Sog, i.e. Sog-rdzoṅ on the Sog-c'u, a left-bank tributary of the Nag-c'u or Salween; it was in the Nag-śod district. It is Sok gompa of the modern maps, c. 31°50′N, 93°40′E[106].

b) Śag; it was at or near Śag-mt'il on the Śag-c'u, c. 32°N, 92°30′E[107].

c) rTsi-bar was in the rTsi-c'u valley at the foot of the rTsi-la, Dze pass of the modern maps, c. 33°10′N, 95°15′E.

d) Śa-p'o is repeatedly mentioned in the texts[108], but cannot be identified.

e) rKoṅ; this may be Koṅ-po.

f) dGon-gsar; unknown.

g) Gya-bar; occurs in a text[109], but cannot be localized.

The remaining four major stages were the responsibility of the

[102] *KARMA*, 88b.

[103] *LANG*, 338.

[104] Dan-tig is a mountain on the bank of the Huang-ho, north of Hsün-hua (or Hua-lung) in Ch'ing-hai; *BA*, xviii, 65; Stein 1959b, 208–209. gTso-mdo or Tsom-mdo or Tsom-mdo gNas-gsar in sMar-k'ams was a fairly important place in Yüan times; 'P'ags-pa stayed there repeatedly and composed there some letters and tracts (nn. 4, 119, 129, 154, 298). sMar-k'ams was the region on the right bank of the lower sMar-c'u, ca. 101°30 E, 32°30 N. It should not be confused with the better known sMar-k'ams (centre: sGar-t'og) two degrees of latitude farther south.

[105] Or twenty-eight according to *Ching-shih ta-tien* ap. *YLTT*, 19421, 2b–3a. According to the same text, there were seven minor relays.

[106] See Map n. 3 of Sato 1978. Karma Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje built a bridge (Sog-zam) over the river and Karma Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje too passed through that place; *Karma*, 107a, 137a.

[107] See Map n. 1 of Sato 1978. Passage of Karma Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje; *KARMA*, 136b.

[108] *BA*, 279; *KARMA*, 112a, 137a.

[109] *BA*, 518.

k'ri skor of gTsaṅ. In this case we have also the Chinese transcriptions of their names, or rather of their Mongol forms[110]:

a) sTag (Chin. I–ssu–ta). The sTag *'byams* (= *'jam*) was near Rin–spuṅs at the end of the Roṅ valley[111].

b) Ts'oṅ–dus (Chin. Sung–tu–ssu), meaning simply "market", is a rather vague term. This one may be Ts'oṅ–'dus mGur–mo, said to be situated in modern K'oṅs–mar–rkyaṅ *c'us* of sÑe–mo *śan*[112].

c) Dar–luṅs (Chin. Ta–lung) is unknown.

d) Grom–mda' (Chin. Sa–chia). Apparently Grom–mda', the home place of the first *dpon c'en* Śākya–bzaṅ–po, situated on the Grom–c'u or Grum–c'u, was the name of the *'jam* buildings in the outskirts of Sa–skya.

A postal relay (*'jam*) was at the same time the centre of a sort of postal district[113]. At the head of each major stage there was normally a director called *'ja' mo c'e* (later: *'jam dpon*; Mong. *jamči* or *jamuči*)[114]; the Chinese title was *i–ling*. In spite of his heavy responsibilities and of the size of the personnel under his command, he had only the very low rank of upper ninth degree; he held office for three years. The minor stages were under a petty official called in Chinese *t'i–ling*[115]. The personnel (*'ja' mo*) was supplied by the subjects (*mi sde*) of the myriarchies, whose compulsory service (*o ger ga'i 'u lag*, transcribing Mong. *egürge ulaya*) was a form of labour taxation. Each major *'jam* was supposed to have 120 horses available; but this number was seldom kept up[116].

This brings up the problem of the correlation of the postal districts with the myriarchies. The only text which supplies infor-

[110] *GBYT*, I, 147b; *Ching–shih ta–tien*, ap. *YLTT*, 19421, 11a.

[111] *LANG*, 618.

[112] Duṅ–dkar Blo–bzaṅ–'p'rin–las in *HD–2*, 458 note 650. The modern administrative terms *c'us* and *śan* are transcriptions of Chinese *ch'ü* and *hsien*.

[113] The approximate translation of this text in Das, 95–98, understands the *'jam* as an administrative district, confusing in this way the whole issue.

[114] The title *jamčin* occurs repeatedly in the Ža–lu documents.

[115] Olbricht, 60–61.

[116] *Ching–shih ta–tien* ap. *YLTT*, 19421, 11a.

mation on this subject [117] is based on the registers (*deb t'er*) compiled by the *nan c'en* of Sa–skya and by the *du dben śa* (*tu yüan–shuai*) gŽon–nu–mgon [118].

The subjects (*mi sde*) of gTsaṅ *cum* mṄa'–ris were apportioned to the *'jam* to the ratio of one hundred heads each (?: *'jams re mgo brgya*; very doubtful). The men of Southern and Northern [La–stod] with mṄa'–ris were attached the *'jam c'en* of Sa–skya or Grom–mda'. The men of the South(?) were attached to the *'jam c'uṅ* at Mar–la–t'aṅ. The subjects (*mi sde*) of mṄa'–ris were attached to the *'jam c'uṅ* at Zab–k'a. The *'jam c'uṅ* of Gyam–riṅs was occasionally a military postal relay (*spon len dmag 'jams*). The men of Pu–raṅs were attached to the Ma–p'aṅ *'jams c'uṅ* (the region of the Manasarovar lake). The single *'jam c'uṅ* of both northern and southern Gu–ge was served (by whom?) at Me–tog–se–ru.

[In gTsaṅ] the 3003 [households] of C'u–mig were attached to the Dar–luṅs *'jam c'en*. The 3892 [households] of Ža–lu, less 832 families of Bya–rog–ts'aṅ, i.e. 3060 in all, were attached to Ts'oṅ–'dus. Ya–'brog Sixteen *Leb* and the 28 *rta mgo* [119] of Bya–rog–ts'aṅ and the eleven which was the number of the *rta mgo* of the C'u–p'yogs subdivision of Śaṅs [120] were attached to the sTag *'jam* [*c'en*]. The men of Ya–'brog were attached to the *'jam c'uṅ* of Yar–sribs.

In the Go–pe (Chin. Hu–pi) *'jam* the service was entrusted to the 3000 *hor dud* of 'Bri–guṅ. In the Ga–ra (Chin. Ho–li) *'jam*, 2650 [households] of Bya–yul with the addition (read *bsnan* for *mnan*) of 350 households of the ... (*re rtsa t'e ba*) of 'Ts'al–pa, for a total of 3000 households, were attached. The 2650 households from rGya–ma with the addition of 350 households of Zur–mk'ar *rtsa ba* (?) of 'Ts'al–pa, for a total of 3000, were attached to the Sog *'jam*. The 2438 *hor dud* of P'ag–mo–gru, called *sa stag* (?)

[117] *GBYT*, I, 216b–218a. The text is clearly corrupt and offers serious difficulties.

[118] The *tu yüan–shuai* gŽon–nu–mgon cannot be the same as the *dpa'–śi* (*po–shih*) of this name mentioned twice in *LANG*, 292, 344. All we can say is that the list of the *GBYT* is earlier than the times of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, i.e. earlier than c. 1322.

[119] Here and elsewhere in this list *rta mgo* cannot have its theoretical value of fifty *hor dud*. If the 832 households of Bya–rog–ts'aṅ correspond to 28 *rta mgo*, the value of the latter would be approximately thirty *hor dud*.

[120] C'u–p'yogs is apparently the lower portion of the Śaṅs valley near the junction with the gTsaṅ–c'u.

[and] 50 *hor dud* of sTag–luṅ with the addition of 600 of the Lha–pa were attached to the rTsi–bar *'ja' mo*[121]. In the Śa–p'o *'jam* the service was ensured by the people of Gru–gu–sgaṅ together with K'a–rag and 'Brug, and Gra–ma–t'aṅ, 200 [*hor dud*], and 4 from 'Ol–k'a; these men together with those attached as ecclesiastical serfs (*lha rtags*) were employed. The [households] attached as ecclesiastical serfs have been listed above (?: *goṅ du cad*). Others called *sa stag* (?) were added to gTsaṅ–la–yar–gtogs, [viz.] to gTsaṅ. A ... (*dga' ba*) of 3000 *rtsa ba* households of the g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa were attached to the rKoṅ–po *'jam*.

The *'jam* of Śag, dGon–gsar and Gya–ba are not included in this list; but at least Śag was still functioning at the time of writing.

We are told that the earlier organization of the mail relays in dBus was no longer valid in later times. This is probably due to the thorough reorganization of the mail system carried out by Sang–ko on the occasion of his expedition to Central Tibet in 1281. The service in the seven *'jam c'en* of the North was so intolerably heavy for the men of dBus, that they had fled away. Sang–ko assigned the actual management of those *'jam c'en* to his soldiers from Ud–spur and sBa–rag (?), while the supply of food, animals, fodder, clothes etc. continued to be the duty of the dBus myriarchies. These seven military relays (*dmag 'jam*) existed as a separate entity down to the late fifties of the 14th century and are repeatedly mentioned in the texts[122]. The lists translated from the *GBYT* in the preceeding paragraphs represents the organization that existed between 1269 and 1281.

Our sources enable us to follow the existence of the imperial mail till almost the end of the Yüan. It always represented a heavy burden on the peasantry, aggravated by the preposterous and unreasonable requirements of princes and other high officials visiting Tibet[123]. Another cause of oppression was the misuse of the mail by men who did not hold the document (*bca' rtse*, Chin. *cha–tzu*) of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs prescribed by regulations[124]. No wonder the imperial government

[121] This last statement is confirmed in *GBYT*, II, 169b.
[122] *LANG*, 798.
[123] An interesting instance is related in *LANG*, 336–339.
[124] *Ching–shih ta–tien* ap. *YLTT*, 19421, 16a.

had to grant relief on several occasions. So did Sang–ko on a large scale in 1281. But already in 1292 the *hsüan–wei ssu* of dBus–gTsaṅ reported that after the 'Bri–guṅ revolt two years earlier the mail stations were in a bad case and their staff was impoverished and restless. The government ordered to provide five stations of dBus–gTsaṅ with 100 horses, 200 oxen (i.e. yaks) and 500 sheep each, and to pay out a money allowance to the 736 military households of the personnel to the amount of 150 silver *liang*[125]. A few months later the emperor commanded the Central Secretariat (*chung–shu sheng*), in execution of the mail service regulations of dBus–gTsaṅ, to give horses, oxen and goats and a lump sum of 9500 silver *liang* to the two *'jam* of Ho–li and Hu–pi (Ga–ra and Go–pe)[126]. In 1304 the households of the mail stations of mDo–k'ams were given 2200 *ting* paper and 390 *liang* silver[127]. In 1314 the government observed that all the mail stations of the Tibetan lands (Hsi–fan) were impoverished; they were granted 10.000 *ting* paper[128]. In 1319 relief was granted to the four postal relays of gTsaṅ[129]. Two months later the *hsüan–cheng yüan* was again commanded to send relief to the postal stations in Hsi–fan[130]. At some unspecified time after 1319 the *dpon–c'en* Yon–btsun reorganized (*'c'os pa*) the mail system at his own expenses[131]. The duties of the imperial official Si–tu Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an, who came to Tibet in 1345, included the rehabilitation (*'dzugs pa*) of the Śag *'jam–c'en*; he procured one hundred horses from the noblemen of dBus for the mail service[132].

Thanks to the care bestowed upon it by the imperial government in the midst of increasing difficulties, the service was kept running till the end; Karma Rol–pa'i–rdo–rje found it in working order during his two journey to China in 1358 and 1360.

[125] *YS*, 17.366–367.

[126] *YS*, 17.369.

[127] *YS*, 21.459.

[128] The memorial and decree are reproduced in extenso in the *Ching–shih ta–tien* ap. *YLTT*, 19421, 2b–3a; the text recalls also the relief granted in 1292 and 1296. The decree is ruthlessly condensed in *YS*, 24.564.

[129] In this case too the memorial and decree are found in the *Ching–shih ta–tien* ap. *YLTT*, 19421, 11a; they are reduced to half–a–dozen characters in *YS*, 26.588.

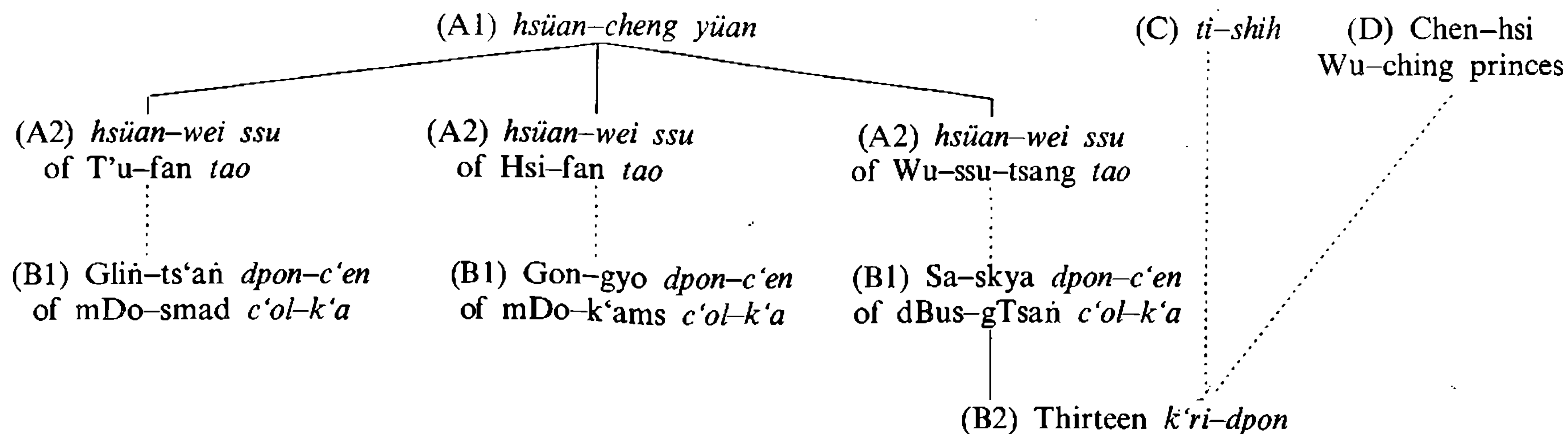
[130] *YS*, 26.589.

[131] *BYANG*, 4a.

[132] *LANG*, 357.

As is well known, the mail system of the Yüan survived down to 1959 in the shape of the *'u lag* compulsory service imposed on the peasantry; it consisted in the supply of conveyances and accompanying men to government servants on official journeys and to other travelers holding permits (*lam yig*) from the Lhasa government.

In the way of a final summing–up, the main features of the Mongol–Tibetan administration in the Tibetan–speaking regions are shown in the following table.



Functions: (A1) = Control from the capital
(A2) = Regional control
(B1) = Regional administration
(B2) = Local administration
(C) = Grants of estates and privileges
(D) = Inspections and appointments

CHAPTER IV.

YÜAN – SA-SKYA RULE UNCHALLENGED (c. 1290–1330)

At the end of Chapter III we left Central Tibet pacified and secure under Mongol control after the repression of the 'Bri-guṅ "rebellion" in 1290. The strong man of the moment, the *dpon c'en* Ag-len, presided over the Tibetan government for some years more. Like Śākya-bzaṅ-po and Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po before him, he was a great builder and practically completed the great complex of Sa-skya. He caused to be made the tamarisk-brush crown of the Lha-k'aṅ c'en-mo, its platform with eight pillars, the T'ig-k'aṅ etc. In 1295 he built the great outer enclosure (*lcags ri*), where the outer images of 'P'ags-pa and of Dharmapālarakṣita were placed; he added also the Golden tower and the Turquoise tower. Other buildings due to him were the enclosure of the sPon-po-ri and the Jo-mo-gliṅ [1].

The last information we have about him belongs to 1298, when he was starting on his journey to Peking and met bZaṅ-po-dpal (see below) on his way to Tibet [2]. Following the latter's advice, he caused 639 different outer and inner maṇḍala to be made. His departure marked the end of a most successful administration.

Once arrived at the capital, Ag-len earned the reward for his success. Prince Ayurbarwada, the future emperor Buyantu Khan (1311–1320), granted to his clan the newly-formed Yar-'brog myriarchy; his descendants took as their family name that of sNa-dkar-rtse, the chief place of Ya-'brog [3].

The 'K'on family seemed to have disappeared from view after the death of Dharmapālarakṣita. It continued, however, in existence during those years. Another half-brother of 'P'ags-pa, called Ye-śes-'byuṅ-gnas (1238–1274), had settled in lJaṅ (Yünnan) as

[1] *HD-1*, 24b. The date is found in *GBYT*, II, 41b.
[2] *SKDR*, 112a; *LDL5*, KA, 21b.
[3] *GBYT*, II, 42a.

the house chaplain of Qubilai's fifth son Hügeči. The latter was appointed provincial governor in 1267 and died of poison four years later. Apparently Ye-śes-'byuṅ-gnas stayed on in that remote province and died there in November 1274. According to another tradition quoted in the same text, he died on 30th March 1273 at Se-ra-sna in mDo-k'ams[4].

From his wife, a lady of the dPal-rin family, *gñer pa* of Luṅ-nag, Ye-śes-'byuṅ-gnas begot one son called bZaṅ-po-dpal (1262–1323)[5]. He was the only remaining male offspring of the 'K'on family after the death of Dharmapālarakṣita and of his infant son. As such, he was the prospective heir to the Sa-skya see and connected rights. He passed his early years at Sa-skya without taking his religious duties very seriously. In 1282 the empress A-bu summoned him to court[6]. When in the same year Dharmapālarakṣita became Imperial Preceptor, something happened about which our sources are prudently vague, speaking in guarded terms. Possibly on the prompting of his cousin, doubts were cast on the legitimacy of bZaṅ-po-dpal's birth, and in the same year 1282 the emperor banished him, first to Zo-c'u (Su-chou), then to Haṅ-c'u (Hang-chou) and lastly to an island in the sea of sMan-rtsi (Man-tzu, South China).

In 1291 Sang-ko fell from power and was put to death. The effects of his end were felt in Tibet too. The 'Ts'al-pa *k'ri dpon* dGa'-bde-mgon-po, who had been carried to China after the 'Bri-guṅ war, was kept under strict surveillance by Sang-ko, but was saved from worse by the personal interest of the emperor[7]. Now he was allowed to return to his myriarchy, where he lived peacefully till his death in 1310[8]. Another consequence (although

[4] *SKDR*; 105b–106a; This uncertainty is reflected in other sources. According to *GBYT*, II, 21b, he died in 1274 in Kham; according to *BA*, 212, and *DCBT*, 165a, in 1274 in lJaṅ; according to *HD-1*, 22b, in 1273 in lJaṅ.

[5] On the chequered career of this rather weak personality see *SKDR*, 107a–109b; *HD-1*, 22b; *GBYT*, 22b–24a. The latter text is the source of the account in *HT5D*, translated and commented upon in *TPS*, 627 and 684.

[6] A-bu is probably Nambui, who took the place of Qubilai's chief wife Čabui upon her death in 1281; however, she was proclaimed empress in 1283 only. See Rossabi 1979, 170–171, and Rossabi 1988, 225. Cf. also Pelliot 1959, 568.

[7] *HT5D*, 62b (= *TPS*, 629).

[8] *KARMA*, 102b.

the connection between the two facts is nowhere attested) was probably the resignation of the Imperial Preceptor Ye–śes–rin–c'en; he retired to rTse–lṅa (the Wu–t'ai shan), where he died three years later; it is likely that the downfall of his patron had rendered his position untenable. The emperor appointed as the new *ti–shih* Grags–pa–'od–zer (1246–1303), a member of the K'aṅ–gsar family, who had accompanied Dharmapālarakṣita to Peking[9].

The fall of Sang–ko made no difference in the position of bZaṅ–po–dpal; he was passed over for a second time and Qubilai never relented in his regards. The reasons for the prolonged animosity of the aging emperor are not apparent. In any case the last scion of the 'K'on family had to wait for the death of Qubilai before experiencing a betterment of his condition.

After the demise of Qubilai (18th February, 1294), the new emperor Öljeitü (1294–1307) appointed (that is, confirmed) Grags–pa–'od–zer as Imperial Preceptor (23rd July, 1294). By that time the movement in favour of the 'K'on family, which had been restrained by Qubilai, had gathered momentum. The *dpon c'en* Ag–len himself took the initiative. He summoned the council (*bka' bgros*) of Sa–skya and caused the matter to be discussed. Upon the proposal of Ñi–lde *bgug śri* (*kuo–shih*) Śes–rab–dpal[10] and of the *mi–c'en* O–dus (apparently a Mongol officer in Tibet) the council sent a petition to the Imperial Preceptor asking him to obtain from the emperor the return of bZaṅ–po–dpal. The request was supported also by rGya–a–sñan Kun–dga'–grags[11] and possibly also by the Ža–lu family, who was high in favour with the new emperor[12]. Grags–pa–'od–zer, either from conviction or be-

[9] His appointment is registered in *YS*, 16.354, as one of the events of the year 1291. On him and his family see *HD–I*, 24a–b, and *GBYT*, II, 37b–39a. The K'aṅ–gsar *bla braṅ* had been built by the *dpon c'en* Śākya–bzaṅ–po. – According to *DMS*, 191–192, Grags–pa–'od–zer had been appointed *k'ri dpon* of (La–stod) Byaṅ and his descendants ruled that myriarchy. The section on Byaṅ in *DMS* appears to be based on a mistake, and Grags–pa–'od–zer is unknown to the family chronicle of the Byaṅ family (*BYANG*).

[10] One C'os–rje Ñi–lde was the author of a Sa–skya genealogy which was one of the sources of *SKDR*. He can hardly be the same person.

[11] This is the Tan–pa (1230–1303) of the Chinese texts, on whom see Franke 1984.

[12] Öljeitü gave to the Ža–lu *k'ri dpon* Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an the titles of *fu–shih, tu yüan–shuai* of dBus–gTsaṅ, judge with the second–grade tiger–headed button having jurisdiction over the three *č'ol k'a* as far as Śiṅ–kun (Lin–t'ao); later he became a *t'ung–chih tu yüan–shuai*. The same titles were conferred upon his son Kun–dga'–don–grub. See the Ža–lu Ge-

cause he felt that opposition was inadvisable in front of the consensus of the Tibetan clergy, presented the petition to the emperor. The latter had also to take into account the acute restlessness in the border area, which culminated in the serious revolt that broke out in T'u–fan in the spring of 1296. It necessitated the despatch of an army under Toqto, prince Temür Buqa and others [13].

All this apparently convinced Öljeitü of the advisability of a gradual shift of policy in Tibetan affairs, avoiding at the same time a too sudden reversal of his grandfather's course. In 1296 bZaṅ–po–dpal received an imperial rescript recalling him from South China. Traveling by way of Kyin–c'aṅ–hu (Chien–ch'ang fu, now in Yünnan but then in Szechwan) he arrived at Sin–tu–hu (Hsin–tu fu, north–east of Ch'eng–tu). There he received another imperial decree, accompanied by rich presents, by which he was recognized as the nephew of 'P'ags–pa and his legitimate heir, and was permitted to return to Sa–skya. The decree also requested him earnestly to ensure the continuance of his lineage. This document was considered of great and permanent consequence and is repeatedly quoted in *SKDR* as a sort of family law. To give him a start, the emperor married him with an imperial princess, whose name appears in the Tibetan texts as Mu–da–gan [14], i.e. Mong. Müdegen.

As a part of his new policy, Öljeitü issued in those very years the well–known edict of 1297, threatening dire penalties to laymen striking, or even simply showing disrespect to Buddhist monks; if a man touched a monk, he would lose his hand; if he abused a monk, his tongue would be torn out, and so on [15]. This edict was later reinforced in exactly the same words by Qaišan in 1309.

It is remarkable that this change of policy did not affect the office of Imperial Preceptor at Ta–tu, from which the 'K'on family was debarred for some years more.

nealogies ap. *TPS*, 659–660. In 1290 the *ti–shih* Ye–śes–rin–c'en, by the order of the emperor, had confirmed the Ža–lu fief to mGon–po–dpal; the grant was confirmed by the next Imperial Preceptor Grags–pa–'od–zer in 1296. *ZL*, nn. I and II.

[13] *YS*, 19.404.

[14] *SKDR*, 111a, 112a.

[15] *HD–1*, 39b, and *HD–2*, 151. In both texts the date is simply Bird year, i.e. 1297. The date Wood–Bird 1285 in *GBYT* is a mistake, and the discussion in Macdonald, 79–81 is pointless; Öljeitü was not yet emperor in 1285.

In 1298 bZaṅ-po-dpal, now usually called the *bdag ñid c'en po*, arrived at Sa-skya. In compliance with the wishes of the emperor, he married in swift succession five ladies belonging to the highest nobility of the land. His position at Sa-skya was, however, not so secure as it could be expected. It is true that 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an nominally handed over the abbotship [16]; but in practice he continued to direct the Sa-skya congregation from the abbot's official palace of bŽi-t'og, while bZaṅ-po-dpal was confined in the Lha-k'aṅ *bla braṅ*. The official explanation of this was his obbligation to undertake at last serious religious studies, for which he apparently had had no occasion in his Chinese exile. He needed also to get accustomed to the stately life of a high churchman in monastic surroundings, since some texts describe him as a man of bad temper and foul language [17].

Of the political developments at Sa-skya after the departure of Ag-len we know nothing; apparently it was a period of substantial peace. gŽon-nu-dbaṅ-p'yug was appointed *dpon c'en* for a second term; so at least it is stated in most of our sources. However, *HD-I* ignores him altogether, and according to *HT5D* he died on the way (from China?) to take up his office [18].

In practice, the successor of Ag-len was Legs-pa-dpal. We do not know how long he held office; we are only told that he was a contemporary of emperor Öljeitü and *ti-shih* Grags-pa-'od-zer. Probably he continued in office till c. 1305. Of his activity we read only that in 1299, in agreement with prince Temür Buqa who had come again to Tibet [19], he deposed the P'ag-mo-gru *k'ri dpon* gŽon-nu-yon-tan because of disorderly conduct [20].

During Legs-pa-dpal's period of office the Imperial Preceptor Grags-pa-'od-zer died (1303) and the emperor replaced him with the experienced and loyal Sa-skya *bla mc'od* 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an. In the same year he was summoned to court, where on 23rd February 1304 he was formally appointed Imperial

[16] *SKDR*, 260b.
[17] HT5D, 74b (= *TPS*, 635).
[18] HT5D, 61a (= *TPS*, 628-629).
[19] In 1297 Temür Buqa was given the title of prince of Chen-hsi Wu-ching; *YS*, 19.435. He started thus a princely house that kept up connection with Tibet till the downfall of the Mongol dynasty. See Petech 1990, 263-264.
[20] *LANG*, 252-253.

Preceptor. He enjoyed his exalted position for less than a year, dying on 5th February 1305 [21]. Apparently bZaṅ–po–dpal was not deemed fit for such a office; he was passed over, and the next *ti–shih*, appointed on 29th March, 1305, was Saṅs–rgyas–dpal of K'aṅ–gsar, the younger brother of the former Imperial Preceptor Grags–pa–'od–zer [22].

Possibly these movements in and from Tibet were supervised by the imperial prince Qaišan, then commanding the army in Mongolia and two years later to become emperor; in 1305 he issued a decree confirming the privileges of the Ža–lu *k'ri dpon* [23]. It is not unlikely that he performed other acts of authority in Tibet.

At the same time the emperor decided that the time had come for giving a higher status to the *bdag ñid c'en po*, who by then had completed his religious studies. In 1306, at the age of 45, he formally took over the abbatial authority [24] and shifted his residence to the bŽi–t'og *bla braṅ*. After some years, having abundantly provided for the continuation of his family, he at last entered religious life as a novice. On 26th August, 1311, the new emperor Buyantu (1311–1320) gave him the title of National Preceptor (*kuo–shih*) [25], and at the age of fifty–two, i.e. in 1313, he finally took his vows as a fully ordained monk and became the titular abbot (*gdan sa c'en po*) [26]. Probably taking occasion from this formal act, in the same year Temür Buqa's second son Čosbal (C'os–dpal), who had inherited the title of prince of Chen–hsi Wu–ching, was sent to Sa–skya with the task "of settling the affairs of Tibet" [27]. This was the beginning of a connection with

[21] These dates are supplied by *BA*, 717, and *YS*, 21.457 and 21.462. Cf. *YS*, 202.4519 and *Yüan–tien–chang*, 24.14a, ap. Haenisch, 33. Also Karma, 100a. In 1304 'Jam–dbyaṅs–rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an issued another privilege to the Ža–lu *k'ri dpon*; *ZL*, n. III.

[22] *HD–I*, 24a; *YS*, 21.463 and 202.4519. On the contradictions about the name of this Imperial Preceptor caused, in this as well as in other instances, by *YS*, 202, see Inaba, 38–40. Even the month of his appointment is incorrectly given as September in *YS*, 24.558. In 1307 he confirmed the immunities and privileges of the monks of Western Ža–lu; *ZL*, n. IV.

[23] Original document in the Mongol language and 'P'ags–pa script published and translated by P. Pelliot in *TPS*, 621–624.

[24] *DMS*, 187.

[25] *YS*, 23.545; *SKDR*, 113b.

[26] *HD–I*, 22b; *GBYT*, II, 23b–24a; *SKDR*, 109b. According to HD–I it was only on this occasion that the formally took his residence in the bŽi–t'og *bla braṅ*.

[27] *GBYT*, II, 73b–74, where no date is given. It is, however, supplied by the Eulogy

Central and North–Eastern Tibet that lasted for about twenty year and was then inherited by his son[28].

Shortly after, the office of *ti–shih* too became vacant with the death of Saṅs–rgyas–dpal in 1314. This event brought to an end the series of Imperial Preceptors of the Śar–pa and K'aṅ–gsar–ba families; the office came back to the 'K'on house. In 1309 bZaṅ–po–dpal's second son Kun–dga'–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an (1299–1327)[29] had been summoned from Sa–skya to take up his residence at the capital; now, on 27th March, 1315, the emperor appointed him Imperial Preceptor[30].

A further mark of the restored imperial favour came soon after. The son of the *bdag ñid c'en po* and of the imperial princess Müdegen, by name bSod–nams–bzaṅ–po, was living at Byaṅ–ṅos (Liang–chou), apparently as a novice, with the title of *kuo–kung*. The new emperor Śidibala (1320–1323) was a zealous supporter of Tibetan Buddhism, and in the very year of his accession to the throne he ordered chapels to be dedicated to 'P'ags–pa in every district of the empire. Not content with this, he renewed matrimonial ties with the 'K'on family. In 1321 bSod–nams–bzaṅ–po returned to secular life and on 8th January, 1322, he received the title and the golden seal of a prince of Pai–lan. Apparently this was done on the occasion of his marriage with a daughter of the emperor, called Bhundagan or Buddhagan or Mundhagan in the Tibetan texts. Afterwards, however, he returned to religious life[31].

The wheel had revolved round; but it had taken more than thirty years, a whole generation, to reverse the policy hostile to the 'K'on family inaugurated by Qubilai and Sang–ko with the banishment of bZaṅ–po–dpal. Now, having witnessed the complete restoration of the fortunes of his house, the *bdag ñid c'en po* could

of gNas–rñiṅ, which informs us that in 1313 the abbot of that monastery petitioned the *bdag ñid c'en po*, the imperial prince Čosbal and the *dpon c'en* (no name given) for the usual decree of privileges; *KDNT*, 34b.

[28] On Čosbal see Petech 1990, 265–267.

[29] On Kun–blo (as his name is usually shortened) see *HD–1*, 23a; *GBYT*, II, 24a–b; *SKDR*, 112b–113a.

[30] *YS*, 25.568. *FTLTTT*, 730b, places the event in 1316.

[31] On bSod–nams–bzaṅ–po see Petech 1990, 259–260. According to *YS*, 202.4521, his wedding and appointment as prince of Pai–lan happened in the T'ai–t'ing period (1324–1327), mixing thus together the events of 1321/22 and 1326.

preside over his monastery in peace and without opposition till his death, which happened probably in 1323 [32].

The *dpon c'en* Legs–pa–dpal was succeeded by Seṅ–ge–dpal, of whom nothing is known. The latter in his turn was followed by 'Od–zer–seṅ–ge, who was a relative (perhaps the son) of the former *dpon c'en* gŽon–nu–dbaṅ–p'yug and belonged to the family of the La–stod Lho *k'ri dpon* [33]. He was related to the highest nobility of the land, as he married a daughter of the *sku žaṅ* Kun–dga'–don–grub of Ža–lu, one of his daughters became the third wife of Sa–skya–pa C'os–kyi–rgyal–mts'an, and another married in the Byaṅ family. He was in office in 1309, when he paid his respects to the young sTag–luṅ abbot Ratnaguru visiting Sa–skya [34]. He was still in charge in 1315, when Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an of P'ag–mo–gru went to Sa–skya to undergo his religious and administrative schooling [35]. From a document of 1316 issued by the *ti–shih* to the officials of the Tibetan government we learn that 'Od–zer–seṅ–ge was a member of the *hsüan–wei ssu* and that he settled in a fair way the amount of the taxes due [36]. During his period in office an imperial decree charged Don–yod–dpal, Gya–ba and Ju–ju with the task of inviting to Peking the Lama Legs–'byuṅ–ba, i.e. (probably) bZaṅ–po–dpal's son and future *ti–shih* Kun–dga'–legs–pa'i–'byuṅ–gnas–rgyal–mts'an; the envoys arrived at Sa–skya on the first day of the eight month of an unstated year which seems to be 1316 [37]. Afterwards he received an appointment in the *soṅ jiṅ dben* (*hsüan–cheng yüan*). At the beginning of 1318 he had already vacated his Tibetan office, but was still at Sa–skya pending his departure for China.

'Od–zer–seṅ–ge was succeeded by *dpon c'en* Kun–dga'–rin–c'en, about whom the only piece of information forthcoming is

[32] The two different authorities quoted in *SKDR*, 109b, give 1323 and 1324 respectively. Taking into account the chronology of the movements of the *ti–shih*, I prefer the earlier date, which is supported also by the almost contemporary *HD–1* and by *GBYT*, II, 24a. Other passages in *SKDR*, 113b, 115a, 260b, as well as *DCBT*, 165b, prefer the later date. According to *BA*, 213, and *DMS*, 187, he died in his 61st year 1322.

[33] *LANG*, 791–792.

[34] *TLKZ*, 106b, combined with *BA*, 633.

[35] Ža–lu Genealogies, ap. *TPS*, 660; *LANG*, 261, 265; *HT5D*, 74a (= *TPS*, 635).

[36] *ZL*, n. V.

[37] *LANG*, 272.

that he was in office two years before the coming of prince Čos-bal, i.e. in ca. 1319[38]. The next *dpon c'en* was Don–yod–dpal, the same who had come from Peking a couple of years before. Neither the dates nor the events of his period of office are known.

The next *dpon c'en* is a less obscure man. His name was Grags–pa–dar[39], but he is usually mentioned under the nickname Yon–btsun; he was a member of the Byaṅ family. In his early days he was a pupil of rGyal–ba–ye–śes (1257–1320), abbot of Jo–naṅ[40]. Then he entered Sa–skya service as a member of the retinue of Dharmapālarakṣita. He received formal appointment as a government official through rescripts of Qubilai and of his successor Öljeitü. Rising slowly but steadily in the service, he attained the rank of *ta ssu–t'u* with the silver badge and received a special decree (*'ja' sa*) appointing him *t'us gon du* (perhaps *t'ui–kuan*, criminal judge) of the Byaṅ myriarchy. Later he became Chief Secretary (*naṅ c'en*) of the Sa–skya abbot[41]. His official residence in Sa–skya was the Śiṅ–k'aṅ *bla braṅ*, and he was in charge of its estates, the revenue of which was reserved for the memorial services for Dharmapālarakṣita. We are told that he was appointed *dpon c'en* of dBus–gTsaṅ in the period when *ti–shih* Kun–dga'–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an was at the imperial court, and that he held office for thirteen years. This long period is of course impossible; either this is a clerical error for three years, or his period as *naṅ c'en* is included. In any case, he seems to have died before 1322[42]. As related above, using his private means he reorganized the major postal relays of sTod–smad and was authorized to issue patents (*p'yag rjes*) for men going on official duty (*spyi'i c'ed du*) to Tibet. His religious work was also remarkable: he laid the foundations of the Byaṅ Ṅam–riṅs monastery, employing and rewarding the *mk'an po* Śākya–seṅ–ge for this purpose; he also caused a gold–letters copy of the Kangyur to be made. He was married with a daughter of *ti–shih* Saṅs–rgyas–dpal[43].

[38] *RLSP*, DZA, 13b.

[39] *HD-I*, 25a; *GBYT*, II, 43b.

[40] *BA*, 775.

[41] During his work as *naṅ c'en* his right–hand man was Grags–pa–bzaṅ–po, who was *k'ri dpon* of P'ag–mo–gru for ten months in 1317/18; *LANG*, 255.

[42] *LANG*, 297.

[43] A short abstract of Yon–btsun's life is found in *BYANG*, 3b–4b. The foundation of the Byaṅ Ṅam–riṅs monastery is also narrated rather confusedly in *VSP*, 213, where we are

All this is rather vague, and actually we have little information on his share in the events of Tibet during the years around 1320. The most important of these was the second visit of prince Čosbal to Tibet. In 1319 he had been placed in charge of a body of troops sent to repel marauders from the Khotan region, who were disturbing the imperial frontier [44]. This was apparently an aftermath of the raid of an imperial army which two years before had looted the residence of the Čaγatai Khan on the Isiq–qul and the Talas. It was possibly in connection with this assignment that he came to Sa–skya "in order to repress to sTod Hor" [45]. On this occasion he issued a *lingji* dated in the Bird year (1321) and adressed to the Ža–lu *k'ri dpon* Kun–dga'–don–grub, confirming his appointment as *hsüan–wei shih* already made by the emperor. This is the only document of Čosbal that has been preserved in the original [46].

Probably on the same date, but in any case before 1322, he issued another *lingji* enclosing a letter (*cha–fu*) from the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs to rGyal–mts'an–skyabs, *k'ri dpon* of P'ag–mo–gru from 1318 to 1322, concerning the appointment of an administrator to the chiliarchy (*stoṅ skor*) of Yar–stod [47]. A third *lingji* was adressed in 1322 (or soon after) to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, appointing him *k'ri dpon* in the place of rGyal–mts'an–skyabs deposed; it reached its adress in 1324 [48]. By that time the prince had probably returned to his headquarters at Ho–chou.

The death of the *bdag ñid c'en po* bZaṅ–po–dpal had far–reaching consequences. If at his birth the very existence of the 'K'on family was threatened by lack of issue, at his demise the problem was quite the opposite. He had taken the imperial advice to heart and had performed conscientiously his task of perpetuat-

told first that *ti–shih* Kun–blo gave the name to the place because of the cries of the wild geese (*ṅaṅ*) in a pond in the region of Ṅaṅ (or Ṅam) riṅs, and then we are presented with a precise date for the coming of Śākya–seṅ–ge and the foundation of the monastery: Wood–Bird year of the fourth cycle, i.e. 1225. The two tales exclude each other.

44) *YS*, 26.588.

45) *LANG*, 287. On this occasion Čosbal was invited to Ra–luṅ by the abbot Seṅ–ge–rgyal–po (1289–1326), but did not go; *RLSP*, 13b–14a.

46) *ZL*, n. X.

47) *LANG*, 321–322.

48) *LANG*, 325–326.

ing the family; from his wives (one Mongol and five Tibetan) he had begotten thirteen sons, of whom eleven were still alive at the moment of his death. The problem of the succession was rather knotty. It happened, however, that in 1322 the second son, the Imperial Preceptor Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an, had returned to Tibet in order to receive his final ordination as monk[49]. Being on the spot, thes settlement of the heredity became quite naturally his responsibility. Whether acting on instructions from the court or because he was unable to impose his authority on his brothers, he took the easiest way out, in the form of a partition. The sons were divided into four groups, each of which was given a share of the heredity. The groups took their names from their residences (*bla brañ*) in Sa-skya. They were:

1) bŽi-t'og (or gŽi-t'og). Already before 1322, and ever after down to 1959, it was the official residence of the abbot (*gdan sa c'en po.*

2) Lha-k'añ, which was a different building from the Lha-k'añ c'en-mo.

3) Rin-c'en-sgañ, to the north-east of the bŽi-t'og, built by Kun-dga'-bzañ-po.

4) Dus-mc'od, to the south-east of the bŽi-t'og; its origin is unknown[50].

The partition of the Sa-skya estate among the four *bla brañ* was carried out by the Imperial Preceptor late in 1323 or early in 1324[51].

This award broke up the unity of the Sa-skya see. Each *bla brañ* had its own *gdan sa*, and the general abbot (*gdan sa c'en po*) seems to have enjoyed a primacy of honour only. This meant a serious weakening of the influence and prestige of the Sa-skya-pa. The consequences were in the short run what appears to be an increased interference by the imperial government, and eventually a

[49] *SKDR*, 113a; *RLSP*, DZA, 17b, and *WA*, 7a; *YS*, 27.615. This event and its date have received a disproportionate importance with several Tibetan authors. See the materials gathered by Macdonald, 66–71 and 116–117 (note 51).

[50] The four major and fourteen minor *bla brañ* are described in the *Guide* and partly in *Ferrari*, notes 481–505; The four major ones are: Go-rum, the oldest building (11th century) and properly speaking not a *bla brañ*, gŽi-t'og, Rin-c'en-sgañ, Lha-k'añ; *Guide*, 6a–b.

[51] *SKDR*, 113b.

rising unrest and contumacy of the *k'ri dpon*, which brought the final collapse of both Sa-skya and Yüan authority.

A measure of unity was provided by the recognitions as titular abbot of the third son Nam-mk'a'-legs-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an (1305–1343), head of the bŽi-t'og branch and usually known by his title mK'as-btsun. He was formally installed in 1325 and the emperor granted him the great seal and the title of *kuan-ting kuo-shih* [52]. He is seldom mentioned and, although he enjoyed a considerable religious prestige, his authority seems to have been rather limited.

At the same time the emperor, apparently in order to provide a legitimate support to the new organization, recovered from religious twilight the former Pai-lan prince bSod-nams-bzaṅ-po. In 1326 the latter renounced his vows for a second time, was reinstated as prince, and on 12th June of that year was appointed *hsüan-wei shih* of the three *tao* of Hsi-fan [53], i.e. the three *c'ol k'a* of mDo-k'ams (or mDo-stod), mDo-smad and dBus-gTsaṅ. In practice this attempt met with little success [54].

The influential *ti-shih* too fell out almost at once. He had fully exercised his authority in Tibet, as shown by four documents issued by him [55]. After his work at Sa-skya connected with the partition of the estate, he returned to the capital in the summer of 1324 [56]. In 1326 his health failed, and on 6th November of that year he took leave from the emperor in order to return to Tibet [57]. He did not, however actually depart, perhaps on account of the revolt that broke out in T'u-fan (Amdo) soon after; in December he was still performing rituals at the capital [58]. The An-

[52] *SKDR*, 114b and 261a; *HD-I*, 23a; *GBYT*, II, 27b–28a; *BA*, 213.

[53] *YS*, 30.669–670. In *YS*, 108.2742 (= Hambis 1954, 50), the date 4th year T'ai-t'ing is to be corrected into 3rd year.

[54] Hambis 1954, 50 and 137 identifies bSod-nams-bzaṅ-po with So-nan-kuan-pu (bSod-nams-mgon-po), prince of Ch'i, mentioned in 1327 and 1332. There is no ground for this hypothesis beyond the partial similarity of name; the princes of Ch'i seem to have been all of them Mongols.

[55] *ZL*, nn. V (1316), VI (1321), VII (1325) and Doc. LXVI in Chavannes 1908 410–413.

[56] In the eight month of 1324 on his way to Peking he met at Ts'oṅ-'dus the 'Brug Ra-luṅ abbot Kun-dga'-seṅ-ge (1314–1347), to whom he imparted the first vows; *RLSP*, WA, 8a.

[57] *YS*, 30.674.

[58] *YS*, 30.675–676.

nals of *YS* report under the date of 6th March, 1327, the death of the *ti–shih*, with the corrupt name Ts'an–ma I–ssu–chi–ssu–pu Ch'ang–ch'u I–ssu–chai [59]. This person can only be Kun–dga'–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an, whose death is reported in the Tibetan texts under the same date [60].

He was succeeded by Kun–dga'–legs–pa'i–'byuṅ–gnas–rgyal–mts'an (1308–1330?) of the Lha–k'aṅ *bla braṅ*. He was appointed Imperial Preceptor on 17th May, 1327 [61], but this decree had no practical effect. We know from Tibetan sources that he arrived at court in 1328 only, and the "acting emperor" Toγ Temür, as soon as he felt secure on the throne, repeated (or confirmed) the appointment under the date of 17th October, 1328 [62]. According to one version he died in the Me–tog ra–ba in 1339, according to another in 1330 after having acted as *ti–shih* for three years only [63]; the second version is more likely.

During the period of office of Kun–dga'–legs–pa'i–'byuṅ–gnas–rgyal–mts'an a curious episode took place. According to the Chinese source, a man called Nien–chen–ch'i–la–ssu, i.e. Rin–c'en–grags, was appointed *ti–shih* on 22nd December 1329 [64]. His origin is totally obscure and there are serious difficulties in the way of identifying him with one of the persons of that name mentioned in *YS* [65]. We can only suppose with some likelihood that

[59] *YS*, 30.677. The first and the last part of this name are incomprehensible. The second transcribes *skyes bu*; the third perhaps *byaṅ c'ub* (?).

[60] *HD–I*, 22b; *GBYT*, II, 24b. Cf. *BA*, 213 and 308. *FTLTTT*, 734b, has the wrong date of the 10th month of 1327.

[61] *YS*, 30.678.

[62] *SKDR*, 153a; *FYLTTT*, 734b, where he is given the same title Wen *kuo–kung* that had been bestowed in 1310 upon I–lin–chen–ch'i–lieh–ssu (see below, note 64).

[63] So according to the two mutually independent authorities quoted in *SKDR*, 153a.

[64] *YS*, 33.745. In *YS*, 202.4519, this name is spelt Nien–chen–ch'ih–la–shih–ssu, i.e. perhaps Rin–c'en–bkra–śis.

[65] Several other Rin–c'en–grags appear during those years. The transcription vary and we cannot decide how many different persons are intended. In chronological order, they are: I–lin–chen–ch'i–lieh–ssu, who was nominated Wen *kuo–kung* on 2nd November 1310 (*YS*, 23.527). I–lin–chen–ch'i–la–ssu, who was appointed *ssu–t'u* on 9th August, 1311 (*YS*, 24.545). The Nien–chen–ch'i–la–ssu, who was appointed *ssu–t'u* on 7th April, 1320; this was apparently a degradation, because at the same time he was deprived of the rank of *kuo–kung*, his seal too being withdrawn (*YS*, 27.599); he might be the same as the Si–tu Rin–c'en–grags endowed with judicial functions, who accompanied the *ti–shih* upon his return to Tibet in 1322; he held a seal of the *hun dben*, i.e; of a detached office (*fen–yüan*) of the *hsüan–cheng–yüan* (*LANG*, 289). The monk Nien–chen–ka–la–ssu who on 23rd December, 1320, was summoned to the capital, the officials of the *chün* and *hsien* through which he traveled being instructed

he was the same man as the *kuo-shih* Rin-c'en-grags who in the year Wood-Bird 1325 prepared for the press the Tibetan text of the *rGya-yig-ts'aṅ* translated or compiled from the Chinese by Hu-gyaṅ-žu (or 'U-gyaṅ-ju) forty years before[66]. He not only did not belong to the 'K'on family, but is also never mentioned as Imperial Preceptor in any Tibetan text (nor, for that matter, in any Chinese source after his appointment). So we are justified in considering him an usurper and his appointment as an abortive and short-lived attempt by some faction at the Court to esclude the Sa-skya-pa from the office of Imperial Preceptor after the restoration to the throne of Toγ Temür.

The only permanent prop of the disintegrating top level of the Sa-skya government should have been the *dpon c'en*. However, we know nothing of the activities of Yon-btsun; even the date of his stepping down from office is unknown and can be guessed only indirectly. According to an isolated text, his son by a secondary wife, called rDo-rje-mgon-po, obtained the office of judge (*Jaryōči*) of dBus-gTsaṅ with the title of *ta ssu-t'u*. After the death of his father he performed during five or six years all the work large and small pertaining to the duties of *dpon c'en* of dBus-gTsaṅ. This means that he acted in the capacity (*ṅor*) of *dpon c'en* without holding that title[67]. Indeed, his name is absent from all the lists of the *dpon c'en* and is completely unknown to *LANG*, except for a purely genealogical mention on p. 791. If we must suppose a vacancy of the office, it could have lasted for a very short time, and certainly not for five or six years.

Then a titular *dpon c'en* was appointed. This was again 'Od-zer-seṅ-ge, who came back from Peking and took office for a second term at some date before 1325.

to received him with due honours (*YS*, 27.608). The *ta ssu-t'u* I-lin-chen-ch'i-la-ssu, who on 28th February, 1327, was appointed *daruγači* in the administration of the Ta-yung-huo-p'u-ch'ing temple, maintaining the title of *ta ssu-t'u* (*YS*, 30.677).

[66] These facts are related in *HD-I*, 12b. Its account was copied in the almost contemporary *GR*, which confused the date of compilation (1285) with that of the printing (1325). On this problem see Macdonald, 56, and in the last instance Sørensen, 238-240. The account was copied also into *GBYT*, I, 81b, in *BA*, 47, and in several later works.

[67] *BYANG*, 4b.

CHAPTER V.

THE DOWNFALL OF YÜAN - SA-SKYA RULE

V.1 – *The rise of P'ag-mo-gru: the first years*

Starting with the late twenties of the 14th century, the somewhat stagnant situation in Central Tibet started to move, due mainly to the restless spirit, ability and dogged perseverance of Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an (1302–1364), *k'ri dpon* of P'ag-mo-gru.

Our main source for the years of the twilight of the Sa-skya-pas is represented by Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's autobiography (*LANG*), a bulky, verbose and linguistically difficult text, but nevertheless a first-rate piece of historical writing. It is often hard to interpret, its language being influenced both by the colloquial of the 14th century and by the bureaucratic terminology of the Mongol government, both in translation and transcription. Of course it supplies an one-sided and prejudiced presentation of the events, requiring careful criticism and comparison with other sources.

The chronology of the narrative in *LANG* is rather scanty, and yet sufficient. It calls, however, for a preliminary remark. Of the two editions available (on which see Bibliography), the recent Chinese one gives the dates for the period 1322–1347 in the twelve-years cycle only. The Indian edition supplies full dates in the sexagenary cycle. It can, however, be easily remarked that the latter must be due to a secondary reconstruction, being systematically too low by twelve years. A check with the rich material and exact chronology in *KARMA* compels us to that conclusion. After 1347 the dates are given in the sexagenary cycle in both editions and can be safely trusted.

To set the scene for the decisive events of the following years, I think it advisable to present a bird's eye view of the main factors of Tibetan politics, as prevailing in the early thirties of the 14th century.

After the confuse interlude of Rin-c'en-grags, the next Im-

perial Preceptor was destined to a much longer tenure than his predecessors. This was Kun–dga'–rgyal–mts'an (1310–1358), the younger brother of Kun–dga'–legs–pa'i–'byuṅ–gnas–rgyal–mts'an. Previously he had held the titles of C'aṅ (?) *kuo–kung* and of *kuo–shih*. He was selected as *ti–shih* and summoned to court in 1331. In the 7th month of that year the Karma–pa Raṅ–byuṅ–rdo–rje met him at Lhasa along with the imperial officials who had come to fetch him [1]. His stately and slow progress toward the capital is repeatedly alluded to in the Chinese texts under the dates of 18th January, 2nd April and 27th April, 1332 [2]. Immediately after his enthronement the new emperor Toγan Temür appointed (i.e. confirmed) him in office on 19th July, 1333 [3]. His formal authority was recognized in Tibet, as shown by the religious set of rules (*fa–chih*, probably equivalent to Tibetan *bca' yig*) he issued from the great temple of Ta–tu on 22nd May, 1336 [4], and by the Ža–lu Document n. VIII dated on the 16th day of the fourth month of a Mouse year, corresponding almost certainly to 14th May, 1348 [5]. He remained in office until his death in Peking.

Besides the privileged position of the Sa–skya–pa, several lamas of other schools were invited to the Yüan court during the first half of the 14th century. We are not concerned with them here [6], but an exception should be made for the Karma–pa of the Žva–nag branch, who seem to have enjoyed a particular consideration at the Mongol court. We have already met with Karma Pakṣi in the times of Möngke. His rebirth, the third Karma–pa Raṅ–byuṅ–rdo–rje, received in 1331 an imperial mission, headed by mGon–po *ts'aṅ c'iṅ* (elsewhere *ts'am c'iṅ*; Chin. *ts'an–cheng*), bringing a letter of invitation from the emperor. The Karma–pa accepted and arrived at Ta–tu on 6th November 1332. During his journey he had received the news of the death of the emperor Toγ Temür, and during his stay at the capital he was a witness of the early death of the emperor Irinčinbal and the regency of the

[1] *LANG*, 332; *KPGT*, 477; *KARMA*, 107a.

[2] *YS*, 35.794, 36.801, 36.802. In the autumn of 1332 the *ti–shih* received at Peking the visit of the Karma–pa Raṅ–byuṅ–rdo–rje.

[3] *FTLTTT*, 735b. This fact is not mentioned in *YS*.

[4] N. XIV in Chavannes 1904, 442–443.

[5] The date is supplied by *LANG*, 637.

[6] A good summary can be found in Tsering 1978.

empress dowager pending the arrival of the new ruler Toγan Temür from South China. He even mediated between the factions favourable and hostile to the powerful minister El Temür. On those occasions he was able to procure the *kuo-shih* title and seal for his friend the 'Ts'al-pa abbot. In the summer of 1333 Toγan Temür was enthroned at Shang-tu, whereupon the Karma-pa imparted him religious tuition. In the following year he begged leave from the emperor, who granted it upon condition that he would return after two years. On this occasion he obtained the title of *ssu-t'u* for the 'Ts'al-pa *k'ri dpon* Kun-dga'-rdo-rje (in whose dominions Karma-pa's residence mTs'ur-p'u was apparently included) and the character of *darqan* for all the inhabitants of the mTs'ur-p'u estate, implying exemption from taxation. He departed in 1334 and reached mTs'ur-p'u in October of the next year.

He had hardly arrived there, when he received a letter (*eǰi*) from the empress dowager, who reminded him of his promise. He left mTs'ur-p'u in August 1336, accompanied by the *p'ing-ch'ang* Qipčaqtai (on whom see later) and arrived early in 1337 at Ta-tu, where he died on 21st June, 1339[7].

The detailed account of the travels of Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje is interesting from various points of view. It gives a lively impression of the dramatic events in the Yüan capital as seen through the eyes of a foreign churchman. From the philological point of view it allows us a continuous comparison of Mongol and Chinese names and titles as heard and phonetically transcribed by a cultured Tibetan. The Karma-pa seems to have carefully kept out of political entanglements, being content with obtaining marks of the imperial favour for his 'Ts'al-pa friend. Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje's apparent popularity with the imperial court had no ambitious undertones, and he was certainly not put up as a rival or counterpart to the Imperial Preceptor Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an, with whom he entertained cordial relations. At home no particular importance was attributed to his coming and goings, apart from the grand reception upon his return.

[7] Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje's travels and activities are narrated at length in *KARMA*, 107a-115a. Much of it is summarized, and the imperial letters of summons carefully translated and commented upon, in Schuh 1977, 128-142. Cf. *KPGT*, 477-478, 800. See also Richardson 1958, 145-146. mGon-po *ts'o c'iṅ* is also mentioned in passing in *LANG*, 338, and in *KPGT*, 477 (*ts'eṅ c'iṅ*).

Within the frame sketched above, we must introduce now the rising star: P'ag–mo–gru. This *k'ri skor*, with its headquarters at sNe'u–gdoṅ at the mouth of the Yar–luṅ valley, was indissolubly connected with the school founded by P'ag–mo–gru–pa (1110–1170). At first it was linked with 'Bri–k'uṅ, until its chief monastery gDan–sa T'el was built in 1198. Ten years later it became an independent see under sPyan–sṅa (1175–1255), belonging to the ancient rLaṅs family of north–eastern origin. In 1233 sPyan–sṅa became abbot of 'Bri–k'uṅ as well, where he was confronted with Dorta's invasion in 1240. Five years before that, he had been succeeded as abbot of P'ag–mo–gru by his half–brother rGyal–ba Rin–po–c'e (1203–1267). The letter enjoyed a high degree of influence with the Mongols, and particularly with Hülegü, in whose appanage P'ag–mo–gru was included and who thrice sent him costly presents.

This resulted into the establishment of the P'ag–mo–gru myriarchy under Ilkhanid suzerainty, locally represented by a resident commissioner (*yul bsruṅs*); it was governed at first by officials of various origins, but soon by members of the rLaṅs family. Thus P'ag–mo–gru was characterized by the parallel existence of a religious centre at gDan–sa T'el and a political centre at sNe'u–gdoṅ, both ruled by the same family. In the first half of the 14th century, i.e. from 1310 to his death, the abbotship was vested in Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an, posthumously called Ts'es–bži rÑiṅ–ma–pa (1293–1360), who during half–a–century kept strictly to his religious role and almost never intervened in politics [8].

The first *k'ri dpon* belonging to the rLaṅs family was rDo–rje–dpal, who in 1254 built the rNam–rgyal, the administration building at sNe'u–gdoṅ [9]. In those very years the P'ag–mo–gru *k'ri skor* became included in the Tibetan appanage of Hülegü and his successors, of which it formed the kernel. Even after any shadow of Ilkhanid supremacy had vanished, the *k'ri dpon* of P'ag–mo–gru considered themselves as the heirs of the extensive lands included in the original grant by the *qaγan* Möngke, and felt aggrieved by the successive curtailments they underwent.

[8] On P'ag–mo–gru in the 14th century see *BA*, 552–584. For secondary accounts see *TPS*, 17–24; Macdonald, 98–99; Sato 1986, 89–171.

[9] *HD–1*, 37b; *GBYT*, II, 170a–b.

The original appanage of Hülegü was indeed enormous. In the West it included a large tract in mṄa'–ris, "from Ko–ron–mdo upwards (i.e. Westward) to the pass (*la rtsa*) of sPo–rig downwards (i.e. Eastward)"[10]. The *dpon c'en* Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po proposed to rDo–rje–dpal an exchange of this vast but remote estate with the much nearer sNa–dkar–rtse in Ya–'brog. The proposal was rejected, whereupon the *dpon c'en* eliminated by poison the mṄa'–ris administrator gNam–pa *dpa'–śi*, and in the end that region passed under Sa–skya rule[11].

At the centre of the appanage, sNa–nam and 'Ol–k'a were abandoned to Śākya–rin–c'en, the second *sgom pa* of 'Bri–guṅ. The T'aṅ–po–c'e chiliarchy broke away[12]. Even more serious were the losses in the south–east, where gÑal, Gyu–śul, Lo–ro, Byar and E (or g.Ye) were included in the grant to Hülegü. The erosion of these holdings was ushered in by C'ag Lotsawa C'os–rje–dpal (1197–1264), who at the end of his life obtained from the emperor, through the good offices of Sa–skya, the separation from P'ag–mo–gru of the gÑal–smad lDiṅ–bži, a territory surrounding his own monastery of lTe'u–ra[13].

Worst of all was the secession of g.Ya'–bzaṅs, also originally a chiliarchy of P'ag–mo–gru. The abbot of g.Ya'–bzaṅs through a misrepresentation of the activity of Kökčü, Hülegü's representative (*yul bsruṅs*) in the appanage, obtained from Qubilai a *'ja' sa* which made the estates of the monastery independent from P'ag–mo–gru and erected them into a *k'ri skor* in favour of the abbot's relatives Ts'ul–'bum–'od and his nephew 'Bum–k'ri–'od. The grant was later substantially expanded and another imperial decree defined the border between the two myriarchies, fixing it on the sBrel–la pass[14]. This document became the source of endless disputes, in which P'ag–mo–gru usually got the worst.

The core of P'ag–mo–gru territory and of the Ilkhanid appanage was the lower Yar–luṅ valley. In that area and its vicinity

[10] The context rules out the identification of sPo–rig with the Purig district between Ladakh and Kashmir, proposed by Tucci in *TPS*, 629 and 688.

[11] *LANG*, 240–241.

[12] *LANG*, 236–237, 239.

[13] *LANG*, 244–245. This episode is missing both in the biography of C'ag Lotsawa and in the short sketch of his life in *DT*, 1056–1059, which merely inform us that he went to Sa–skya and was highly honoured there.

[14] *LANG*, 245–247.

rDo–rje–dpal built twelwe forts, each of which was the centre of a domain (*gžis k'a*). They were entrusted to the management of relatives or of local noblemen, with a large degree of autonomy. This loose kind of organizations clearly contributed to the dwindling of the *k'ri skor*, so that "it had the name of a myriarchy, but in reality was not even equivalent to half a chiliarchy"[15].

The honest and pious rDo–rje–dpal did not have the necessary energy to stop this process of dissolution, and his successors were mostly corrupt and inefficient. Things reached such a point that in 1295 prince Temür Buqa, acting upon the request of P'ag–mo–gru abbot, had to dismiss the *k'ri dpon* gŽon–nu–yon–tan because of serious offences[16]. He reported the matter to Peking, and while awaiting the emperor's orders the myriarchy was governed for some months by a body of officials selected from the retinue of the prince, from Sa–skya and from P'ag–mo–gru, one of them being rDo–rje–seṅ–ge Yar–luṅ–pa, the son of Hülegü's *yul bsruṅs* Kökčü, but no *yul bsruṅs* himself[17]. Ilkhanid overlordship had by then disappeared, except for these local memories.

The only bright spot in this dismal picture was the period (ca. 1300–1310) in which the abbot Grags–pa–rin–c'en was appointed *k'ri dpon* and given the tiger–head button by prince Temür Buqa and the *ti–shih*, cumulating for some years spiritual and temporal rule. He was able to redeem some of the lost estates[18].

Then things went from bad to worse. The *k'ri dpon* rGyal–mts'an–skyabs (1318–1322) behaved so outrageously, that he was tried, in the presence of the *ti–shih*, then at Sa–skya, by an ecclesiastical court under the control of a detached section (*hun dben*; Chin. *fen–yüan*) of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs headed by the imperial envoys Rin–c'en–grags and dPal–ldan *ju dben*. He was pronounced guilty and deposed, whereupon his office was offered to the abbot Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an. The latter, however, stepped down in favour of his younger brother Byaṅ–

[15] See the list of the *gžis k'a* in *GBYT*, II, 170b and *LANG*, 238. In *LANG* (and in *DMS*) *gžis k'a* is synonimous with *rdzoṅ*, the latter term being not normally employed.

[16] *HD–1*, 37b; *GBYT*, II, 171a; *LANG*, 252–253.

[17] *HD–1*, 37b; *GBYT*, II, 171a–b. The full name rDo–rje–seṅ–ge is found in *HD–2*, 124, only; the other texts have rDo–rje Yar–luṅs–pa. This man is probably the same as the Yar–luṅs–pa who brought to Tibet the *Ta Yüan t'ung–chih* in the original Uighur script together with a copy in the Hor script; *GBYT*, I, 206b.

[18] *LANG*, 253–254; *HD–1*, 37b; *DT*, 583; *GBYT*, II, 168b, 171b.

c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, and this was agreed to. On the 9th day of the 9th month (20th September) of 1322 Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an received a half–official commission on the strength of a letter (*bka' śog*) of the *ti–shih* and an order (*bca' hu*) of the imperial envoys [19]. Only two years later he received the official documents of appointment, consisting of an imperial *'ja' sa*, a *bka' śog* of the *ti–shih* and a *lingji* of prince Čosbal [20]. This particular case affords us an idea of the formal procedure followed by the imperial administration. It also shows that at that time the imperial and Sa–skya–pa control over the myriarchies was still firm and unquestioned.

Thus the main figure of this period of Tibetan history stepped on the stage. He was born in 1302, and his early years are narrated at considerable length and with some gusto in his autobiography. In 1315 he was sent to Sa–skya, to undertake his religious studies as a novice under the tutorship of *bla–ma* mÑam–med–pa. Almost at once he developed a decided preference for secular matters. As he showed good promises for administrative work, he was specially trained in it [21].

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an started at once working on the reorganization of his myriarchy, which had suffered much under the weak hands of his predecessors. He took a firm grip on the management of his estates, showing a keen flair for promising talents. In this way he formed a band of devoted young men, who later became a staunch support for him during the years of crisis and in his final struggle for mastery. Foremost among them was gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po, an ancestor of the Fifth Dalai–Lama, who soon became his chief steward (*gñer pa*) [22].

He directed his main attention to the recovery of the estates that had been lost to the neighbouring *k'ri skor* [23]. Of these, four became the chief bone of contention in the long–drawn squabbles of this period: 'Bras–mo, sNa–mo, Gri–gu and Ts'e–spoṅ with its gold washings (*gser k'a*), the last two being usually lumped together as Gri–Ts'es.

[19] *LANG*, 288–290; *GBYT*, II, 172a.
[20] *LANG*, 325–326.
[21] *LANG*, 256–288.
[22] On gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po see *HTSD*, 94b (= *TPS*, 643–644).
[23] A list of the estates to which he laid claim is given in *LANG*, 296–297.

His first steps were unfortunate. An attempt at reducing the refractory steward of 'P'yos to obedience by force of arms met with a total failure [24]. Then he tried to recover by lawful means Gri–Ts'es, which had been usurped by the myriarch of g.Ya'–bzaṅs. The litigation was brought before the *dpon c'en* 'Od–zer–seṅ–ge, who gave his sentence in 1325. While the good right of P'ag–mo–gru was recognized, in practice, owing to the adverse influence of the 'Ts'al–pa and the close personal relations of the g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa with the *dpon c'en*, Gri–Ts'es remained in the hands of the g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa [25].

This failure was but the outward beginning of a long–protracted and wearisome struggle, fought by intrigue as well as by force. It soon involved the Sa–skya government in the person of its *dpon c'en*, and in the long run became the dominant issue in the political life of Central Tibet.

At first it seemed that redress would come to P'ag–mo–gru directly from the imperial government. Probably in connection with the return of the bones of the dead *ti–shih*, which arrived in Tibet in late 1327, the emperor sent as his envoy (*gser yig pa*) the Si–tu (*ssu–t'u*) Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an, a Tibetan monk who had been a fellow–student of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an at Sa–skya. He opened his tribunal (*k'rims ra*) at Guṅ–t'aṅ and, acting upon the request of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an and in the presence of the *dpon c'en* 'Od–zer–seṅ–ge, he passed orders to the 'Bri–guṅ *sgom pa* Ye–śes–dpal and to 'Ts'al–pa Kun–dga'–rdo–rje to carry out the restitution to P'ag–mo–gru of the serf families (*mi sde*) usurped by g.Ya'–bzaṅs. After his departure, however, the two Tibetan noblemen procrastinated and showed evident signs of ill will; the estates remained in the hands of g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa, and eventually the death of 'Od–zer–seṅ–ge caused the matter to go in abeyance [26].

About the same time, perhaps before the arrival of Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an but in any case in 1327, a dangerous situation had arisen in the top layer of the Tibetan government. A grave dispute had broken out between the *dpon c'en* and the Sa–skya see (or part of it), so that 'Od–zer–seṅ–ge even led his troops against bŽi–t'og.

[24] *LANG*, 325.
[25] *LANG*, 326–327.
[26] *LANG*, 329.

The affair was so serious, that there was even a rumour of the impending arrival of a Mongol army. The Ža–lu *k'ri dpon* Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an, fearing to be involved, fled to 'Dam. Things became worse on account of a fight that broke out in Lhasa between the 'Ts'al–pa and the K'ams–pa (?); luckily, the Karma–pa succeeded in patching up an agreement between the two parties[27]. The trouble within the Sa–skya government too seems to have subsided, as we hear nothing more about the matter; as a matter of fact, it is passed under absolute silence in *LANG*.

'Od–zer–seṅ–ge seems to have died about 1328 or 1329 and was succeeded as *dpon c'en* by rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po[28]. He belonged to the sTag–sna family, myriarchs of Bya–yul, and was born as the second son of Dharma–dkon–mc'og (b. 1268), whose father *dge bśes* Rin–c'en–brtson–'grus had been a disciple of 'P'ags–pa. In his early years he experienced a vision which revealed him that he was an incarnation of Ma–saṅs. He attached himself to the fortunes of the newly–appointed *ti–shih* Kun–[dga'–]rgyal[–mts'an][29], and possibly owed his appointment to him.

In 1329 Central Tibet experienced the doubtful honour to be visited by a prince and his daughter (*dbaṅ sras*). The *LANG* never gives the name of a prince (except Čosbal), this particular one is mentioned nowhere else, and the Chinese texts are of no help. But the choice can be restricted, because *LANG* punctiliously marks the distinction between a member of the imperial family (*rgyal bu*; Chin. *ch'in–wang*) and a prince not of the blood (*dbaṅ*; Chin. *chu–wang*). In my opinion this man was the 2nd Pai–lan prince bSod–nams–bzaṅ–po who, as related above, had received some sort of authority in the three *čol k'a* of Tibet. He quartered himself upon g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa, while his daughter (*sras mo*), to keep the balance between the contending factions, established herself at sNe'u–gdoṅ. This prince too had to decide in the long–standing litigation. He awarded sNa–mo, 'Bras–mo and Ts'e–spoṅ with the

[27] This rather vague tale is the combination of three independent sources: *B.Lett.*, 98a (which provides the name of the *dpon c'en*); *KPGT*, 476; *KARMA*, 106b (which gives the approximate date).

[28] A biographical sketch of rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po is included in *GBYT*, II, 75a–78a. This text was copied with some omissions in *BLO*, 22b–23a (translated with a few mistakes in *TPS*, 687 n. 106).

[29] *GBYT*, II, 74a–b.

gold washings to P'ag–mo–gru, while Gri–gu and dependencies were confirmed to g.Ya'–bzaṅs. Then he shifted to the Yar–luṅ valley, where he presided over the New Year's festival of 1330 and stayed on for some time. This prolonged residence, apparently with no official activity at all, placed a heavy burden on the nobility of dBus in general and on P'ag–mo–gru in particular. Matters grew worse when he started moving about in grand state and aimlessly around the country. After four years (counted in the Tibetan fashion, i.e. in 1332) the nobles informed him with due respect but firmly that this misuse of the mail system was against custom (*lugs med*) and wore out the families of the postal service, who were compelled to supply transport and personal service to his vagaries. They also appealed to mGon–po *ts'am c'iṅ* (Chin. *ts'an–cheng*), the imperial official who in May 1331 had come to Tibet to bring to the Karma–pa the imperial summons, and to bDe–rgyal–'od *tu yüan–shuai*. The matter rested here. Apparently the prince departed almost at once, and thus this ugly instance of aristocratic highhandedness came to an end[30]. He died in Amdo, apparently in 1332 or 1333.

The new emperor Toγan Temür continued the princedom of Pai–lan granting the title (in 1333 or shortly after) to bSod–nams–bzaṅ–po's half–brother Kun–dga'–legs–pa'i–'byuṅ–gnas–rgyal–mts'an (1306–1336), the founder of the Dus–mc'od branch of the 'K'on family, not to be confused with the *ti–shih* who bore exactly the same long name, but belonged to the Lha–kaṅ branch. He married his brother's widow, princess Bhundagan. As usual, he was granted many high–sounding honours: the great golden seal that belonged to the princely title, a rock–crystal *t'o śu*[31], and the appointment as *t'oṅ ji* (*t'ung–chih*) and *giṅ–ri* (apparently official of the *cheng–li ssu*, office for the recovery of tax arrears)[32]. A fully valid (*bzaṅ po*) rescript placed him at the head of the three *c'ol–k'a* of Tibet, i.e. the three *tao* previously held by his brother. His special task lay apparently in the judicial field (*k'rims kyi bya*

[30] *LANG*, 330–339. Cfr. *KARMA*, 107a.

[31] On *t'o śu* see above, p. 28 note 103.

[32] *Giṅ ri* cannot correspond to the low office *ching–li*, but should be rather Chin. *cheng–li ssu*, on which office see back p. 29.

ba la mṅa' mdzad), but like his brother he seems to have exerted no political influence. He died at the age of twenty–nine at Blubs–ts'aṅ–ts'ig in the Srad–p'u region [33]. A daughter of his married the ruler of Maṅ–yul Guṅ–t'aṅ [34]. But the Pai–lan princedom remained vacant once more, and for many years.

In the meantime it seems that rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po and a monk called 'Jam–dpal–rgyal–mts'an were jointly appointed *hsüan–wei ssu tu yüan–shuai* of dBus–gTsaṅ, T'u–fan and other regions, the decree being dated 21st February 1330 [35]; his colleague is unknown to the Tibetan texts. After a few years and upon the arrival of his successor (1333) rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po handed over his charge, but remained for some time more in Tibet. Only in 1336, when he met the Karma–pa at mTs'ur–p'u, he was on the point of leaving for Peking, to become a president of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs [36].

The new *dpon c'en* was dBaṅ–p'yug–dpal, whom Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an had met in 1317 as one of the junior officials of Sa–skya [37]. Before his new assignment to dBus–gTsaṅ, he had been a *dpon c'en* (*yüan–shih*) of the *hsüan–cheng yüan*. He arrived at Sa–skya early in 1333 [38]. At once he tackled the g.Ya'–bzaṅ – P'ag–mo–gru dispute, which by then was coming into the limelight of Tibetan politics and could not be ignored by the imperial government [39]. He issued summons to both parties to present themselves before his court. There Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an pleaded his case, referring to the recent award of the prince. The *dpon c'en* reserved his decision, and provisionally placed under sequestration sNa–mo and 'Bras–mo together with the gold washings. After one year he

33) *SKDR*, 174b, and *GBYT*, II, 26a; Cf. HD–1, 23a, and *BA*, 213–214.

34) *SKDR*, 174b. Cf. Jackson 1976, 46.

35) *YS*, 34.750. Some doubts on the identification are permissible. The Chinese form of the name is Chia–wa–tsang–pu, which seems to correspond rather to dGa'–ba–bzaṅ–po. But no such name occurs in the Tibetan texts.

36) *KARMA*, 111a.

37) *LANG*, 266.

38) *LANG*, 342. For once, the wrong date Wood–Bird 1345 is found in both editions of *LANG*.

39) The political importance of P'ag–mo–gru already in those years is not overstressed by *LANG*. When in 1331 the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs sent a decree to the Tibetan authorities, the three noble houses mentioned in it as most influential are 'Bri–'Ts'al–P'ag, i.e. the 'Bri–guṅ *sgom pa* Ye–śes–dpal, the 'Ts'al–pa *k'ri dpon* Kun–dga'–rdo–rje and P'ag–mo–gru Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an. *KARMA*, 107a, b.

sold the gold washings to g.Ya'–bzaṅs for 80 gold ounces and gave 'Bras–mo and sNa–mo to two other noblemen. Of course Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an protested, but it was of no avail. Also an attempt at getting back the gold washings by force failed, as g.Ya'–bzaṅs was supported, as before, by 'Ts'al–pa.

Late in 1335 or early in 1336 the emperor Toγan Temür, attempting to get a firmer grip on Tibetan administration, sent out two officials, the Tibetan Si–tu dBaṅ–brtson and the Uighur Qipčaqtai *p'ing–ch'ang*. They were charged with the twofold task of inviting to the capital the Lama Don–yod–rgyal–mts'an (of the Rin–c'en–sgaṅ *bla braṅ*) and to carry out a general inspection and revision (*p'ye gsal*) of the census and taxation[40]. The first part of the mission was fruitless, as Don–yod–rgyal–mts'an did not leave Tibet that time; but the second part was duly carried out, in the main by Qipčaqtai.

According to the Tibetan texts Qipčaqtai (Geb–cag–rta'i, Ges–c'ag–rta'i, Gab–c'ag–ste, Gye–p'yag–ta) was a member of the family of the Uighur rulers (*idiqut*)[41]. He is well known to the Chinese sources, and his career can be traced in its main outlines from scattered mentions in the basic annals of the *YS*. On 10th January, 1323, he was appointed head of the *hsüan–cheng yüan*[42]. He played a role in the short civil war of 1328, after which he became vice–chancellor (*p'ing–ch'ang cheng–li*) of the Central Secretariat (*chung–shu sheng*) and president of the Supreme Military Council (*ch'u–mi yüan*). In 1330 he was dismissed and his property was confiscated; but almost immediately the emperor pardoned him and appointed him provincial *p'ing–ch'ang* of Szechwan. In August 1331 he was discharged once more and exiled with his family to Kuang–tung; his property, however, was not attached this time. The tables (*piao*) of the officials of the central government list again, for the year 1333 only, a Qipčaqtai as *p'ing–ch'ang cheng–li*, although there is nowhere a mention of a second rehabilitation[43]. A last mention of Qipčaqtai occurs in 1349,

[40] *BRNT*, 52b.

[41] *KARMA*, 111b. The name Qipčaqtai occurs in the Uighur royal family one or two generations earlier; Hambis 1954, 132, 134.

[42] *YS*, 28.626.

[43] On these items of information see Petech 1980b, 235–236.

when he was a *shih ch'u–mi–yüan shih* and was concurrently appointed a *p'ing–ch'ang* in the Central Secretariat[44].

Qipčaqtai was accompanied by a special officier (*t'o žu u nu gan*)[45] to help him in his work of inspection and to collect arrears of the tithes (*bcu k'a*). They formed a detached section (*fen yüan*) of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs and carried with them the office seal pertaining thereto. Their arrival caused plenty of uneasiness to the populace, accompanied as it was by "plague, war and robbery"[46]. These fears were not wholly groundless. When in the course of the summer Qipčaqtai arrived in Śaṅs and established his office (*k'rims ra*) there, the local people was terrified. They suffered a good deal of extortion, beatings and general oppression[47]. In August 1336, having finished his job, Qipčaqtai went to mTs'ur–p'u, where he met the Karma–pa Raṅ–byuṅ–rdo–rje and took upon himself the task of accompanying him to the imperial capital; while passing through 'Dam, Qipčaqtai and other officials received initiation from the Karma–pa[48].

If the mission of Qipčaqtai served only the interests of the imperial government, his traveling companion dBaṅ–brtson was rather concerned with the struggles within the Tibetan nobility. dBaṅ–p'yug–brtson–'grus (usually shortened as dBaṅ–brtson) had begun his career at the imperial capital, where he resided for many years. His participation in official work there is witnessed by an interesting text telling us that the covenant between 'P'ags–pa and Qubilai "exists in the original in the office (*k'rims ra*) of the Central Secretariat (*chung–shu sheng*), and a copy of it was given to me, the *dpon c'en* dBaṅ–p'yug–brtson–'grus, by Beg–so–k'a *čiṅ saṅ*"[49]. Beg–so–k'a, to be corrected into Beg–po–k'a, is Beg Boqa, who became chancellor (*ch'eng–hsiang*) in the Central Secre-

44) *YS*, 42.885.

45) *GBYT*, I, 193a–b, where the text is cut short and is clearly corrupt. On the obscure term *t'o žu a nu gan* see above p. 28 n. 103. This applies probably to O–rol–ta'i *giṅ ri* (*ching–li*) mentioned in *LANG*.

46) *BRNT*, 52b.

47) *BRNT*, 53b. This *p'ye gsal* was remembered for a long time; *LANG*, 570 and 676. Its registers (*deb t'er*) were still valid and in full use a quarter of a century later; *gSol 'debs riṅ mo* ap. *LANG*, Lhasa edition, 398.

48) *KARMA*, 111b.

49) *GBYT*, I, 206b.

tariat and president of the *ch'u-mi yüan* in 1328, only to be cashiered and sentenced for corruption in the following year[50]. This shows that dBaṅ–brtson was a high official in the Department already in 1328; of course his title of *dpon c'en* indicates his position as *yüan–shih* in the Department, and not as Sa–skya *dpon c'en*.

Long before dBaṅ–brtson's arrival in Tibet a cloud had been gathering upon the head of the P'ag–mo–gru *k'ri dpon*. The *ti–shih* Kun–dga'–rgyal–mts'an, who arrived in Peking in 1332, had taken under his protection rGyal–mts'an–skyabs's nephew (or supposed nephew) bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an, who was putting forward a claim to the office of P'ag–mo–gru *k'ri dpon*. The *ti–shih* presented the case of his protegé to the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. dBaṅ–p'yug–dpal, who at that time was still at the capital, showed himself favourable, but his action was counteracted by dBaṅ–brtson, his second in charge at the Department. When, however, dBaṅ–p'yug–dpal left for Sa–skya, dBaṅ–brtson succeeded him as *yüan–shih* of the Department with the title of Si–tu. He at once acquiesced in the wishes of the Imperial Preceptor, threw Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an overboard and seconded the action in favour of the claimant[51]. An occasion for active intervention was found when he accompanied Qipčaqtai to Central Tibet.

dBaṅ–brtson was with Qipčaqtai when they received initiation from the Karma–pa in August 1336[52]. A very condensed and rather obscure passage of *LANG* goes to show that he accompanied Qipčaqtai and the Karma–pa as far as mDo–k'ams. There they probably (although we are not told so) agreed to carry out the project of the Imperial Preceptor[53]. With this non–official encouragement, dBaṅ–brtson came back to Central Tibet and proceeded to act. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was invited to a banquet at Dog–lum–po and was treacherously arrested. He was ordered to recognize bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an as *k'ri dpon* and to hand over the tiger–head seal of office, which alone could legitimate any order issued by a *k'ri dpon*. He refused and at the same time he contrived to send instructions to his steward gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po not to surrender sNe'u–gdoṅ. Although he expressed his intention

[50] *YS*, 32.714, 32.716, 33.735, 33.740, 112.2828–9.
[51] *LANG*, 346–348.
[52] *KARMA*, 111b.
[53] *LANG*, 348.

to appeal directly to the imperial government, he was kept prisoner for ninety-three days at ['Ts'al] Guṅ-t'aṅ and was even threatened with torture. His adamant firmness carried the day and he was eventually released by dBaṅ-p'yug-dpal's successor. Nothing more is heard of bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an and his pretensions. The only result of this incident was the rise of a deadly hatred between Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an and dBaṅ-brtson [54].

The part of the *dpon c'en* dBaṅ-p'yug-dpal in these proceedings remains obscure. In 1336 he was at mTs'ur-p'u, being present at the official reading out of the imperial decree concerning the Karma-pa [55]. In 1337 he vacated his office, upon which the Sa-skya council granted him an estate in gTsaṅ-la yar-gtogs [51]. Later he is occasionally mentioned, for the last time in 1358 [57], but he never again played a political role.

The new *dpon c'en* bSod-nams-dpal was one of the most effaced figures of the series. Nothing is known of his origins. He took office in the second half of 1337 [58] and appointed the *tu yüan-shuai* rDo-rje-skyabs as assistant *dpon c'en*. In order to influence him against P'ag-mo-gru, a covenant was made between 'Ts'al-pa, T'aṅ-po-c'e and g.Ya'-bzaṅs, the moving force behind them being of course dBaṅ-brtson. After some military events of little importance, rDo-rje-skyabs arranged a truce [59]. After this, bSod-nams-dpal simply fades out of the picture. In spite of his good will, he was despised and treated with contempt by almost everybody on account of his weakness. He is said to have lasted in office for six or seven years, i.e. till 1344 at the latest. At any rate, Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an always showed him great deference and offered him asyle after his dismissal; bSod-nams-dpal reci-

[54] *LANG*, 348-352. Let me note incidentally that Shakabpa's account of these events (1976, I, 323; much abridged in 1967, 76) is partly distorted by his belief that Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's appeal "*goṅ du*" refers to Sa-skya; but *goṅ* always indicates the imperial capital and/or the emperor.

[55] *KARMA*, 110b.

[56] *LANG*, 353.

[57] *LANG*, 486, 597, 605, 679. In 1361 the *naṅ c'en* 'P'ags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ married his daughter; *GYANTSE*, 13b (= *TPS*, 663).

[58] Both editions of *LANG* have the date Earth-Ox 1349, which is chronologically impossible as it would break the sequence of the events.

[59] *LANG*, 353-355.

procated by submitting to the emperor a report defending the P'ag-mo-gru-pa against charges of entertaining rebellious intentions[60].

The events during bSod-nams-dpal's long period of office are passed under silence in our sources. There was, however, a moment when a solution of the g.Ya'-bzaṅs – P'ag-mo-gru conflict could have been arranged. The g.Ya'-bzaṅs *k'ri dpon* 'Bum-dpal-'od died leaving only a minor son called Ts'ul-'bum-'od. The councillors of the myriarchy proposed to Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an to accept Ts'ul-'bum-'od as his adoptive son. Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an subordinated his acceptation to the restitution of the gold washings; this was not agreed to, and thus this statesmanlike project led to nothing[55].

V.2 – *The rise of P'ag-mo-gru: crisis and victory*

About 1344 a crisis was slowly brewing in Central Tibet, as Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's restless ambition was confronted with increasing opposition.

As before, the abbots of Sa-skya remained outside the range of the approaching developments. During those years and in the following period some changes occurred. The chief abbot (*gdan sa c'en po*) mK'as-btsun seems to have been compelled to vacate the see a couple of years before his demise in 1343, because we read of a conflict between bŽi-t'og and Rin-c'en-sgaṅ about that time[62] and because his successor, his half-brother ('Jam-dpal) Don-yod-rgyal-mts'an (1310–1344) of the Rin-c'en-sgaṅ *bla braṅ* is said to have occupied his chair for about three years, which places his accession in 1340, or in 1341 at the latest[63]. He was succeeded by his younger brother bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an (1312–1375), the greatest Sa-skya-pa scholar of the 14th century, usually known by the title Bla-ma Dam-pa. He took office in 1344 and is

[60] *LANG*, 355–356.

[61] *LANG*, 356–357.

[62] *BRNT*, 68a–b.

[63] In 1342 Don-yod-rgyal-mts'an resided in the gŽi-t'og as the supreme chief (*bdag c'en*) of Sa-skya; *GYANTSE*, 9a.

said to have held if for a short time only; the reasons for his renounciation are unknown[64]. His successor was Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an (1332–1365) of the Lha-k'aṅ branch, who was abbot for eighteen years till his death, i.e. 1347–1365[65]. He was followed by Kun-dga'-rin-c'en (1339–1399) of the gŽi-t'og *bla braṅ*, whose dates of office are not known; nor are those of his successors, for that matter[66]. None of these churchmen seem to have exerted a recognizable political influence, perhaps with the exception of the Bla-ma Dam-pa and of bSod-nams-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an (1332–1362), who was never a *gdan sa c'en po*, but went to Peking and died there as the last *ti-shih*. The rule of succession to the see is nowhere explained. It seems, however, that in this period the succession went by seniority.

In about 1344 rGyal-ba-bzaṅ-po returned to Tibet, being appointed *dpon c'en* for a second term. During his work at the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan affairs he had favourably impressed the emperor, who had appointed him *rtsa ba'i dpon c'en*, i.e. chief *yüan-shih* of the Department. Summing up his two separate stays, he resided in China for eighteeen years. Before leaving the court, he begged and obtained from the emperor the grant of an estate in the g.Ye-dmar-sgaṅ tract (Emargang of the maps) in Śaṅs. He built there, on the model of the imperial palace, the Ñug-rgyal-k'aṅ mansion at Śaṅs mT'oṅ-smon; it was henceforward the seat of his family, which came to be called Śaṅs-pa. He also restored a decayed temple there and placed it in charge of So Paṇḍita 'Jigs-med-grags-pa, allowing to it a double rate of the levy of young boys as novices (*btsun k'ral*). In the upper part of g.Ye-dmar-sgaṅ he built also a great *sku 'bum* dedicated to the memory of his parents and invited Bu-ston to perform the consecration ceremony[67].

In those years two imperial missions came to Tibet. In 1344 a Mongol bearing the curious name Jambhala *tvan śri mgon* (Chin.

[64] *DCBT*, 166a-b (= *TPS*, 651), omits 'Jam-dbyaṅs-don-yod-rgyal-mts'an and attributes a rule of three years to the Bla-ma Dam-pa.

[65] According to *DCBT*, Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an became abbot in the year Fire-Pig 1347 (in *TPS* wrongly: 1346).

[66] *SKDR*, 261a. But possibly he took office in 1358; *SKDR*, 116a-b.

[67] *GBYT*, II, 76a-77a; *LBT*, 117 and 120.

tuan–shih kuan) was sent by the emperor to invite Bu–ston to court [68]. Bu–ston turned down the invitation, but Jambhala's visit was otherwise fruitful as he supplied to 'Ts'al–pa Kun–dga'–rdo–rje the materials upon which the latter built the chapter on Chinese history in his *Hu–lan Deb–t'er* [69].

The second mission was led by Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an, who in 1345 [70] came to Tibet for the second time, attended by rDo–rje–lcam *hu śri* (*fu–shih*), A–swan sBo–k'a *ts'e dben* (Esen Boqa *?–yüan*) and others. His task was threefold: to rehabilitate the Śag postal station, to restore order in mṄa'–ris and to carry out a new revision (*p'ye gsal*) in the three *c'ol k'a* of Tibet. Upon his arrival he practically refused to sit on judgment in the g.Ya'–bzaṅs–P'ag–mo–gru case and left at once for mṄa'–ris, where a revolt had broken out. His behaviour on that occasion cast a slur upon the methods of Yüan – Sa–skya administration. He and his colleagues had brought with them an imperial *'ja' sa* promising a pardon to the mṄa'–ris *mṅa' bdag* (i.e. the ruler of Maṅ–yul Guṅ–t'aṅ) and to the Žaṅ *mk'an po*, provided they came personally to surrender within forty days, failing which they would meet with adequate punishment. Only eighteen days after the publication of the imperial decree the Žaṅ *mk'an po* and his son surrendered to the *dpon c'en* rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po. Three days later, in blatant violation of the imperial decree, they and their retinue were put to death. To cap this act of base treachery, a memorial was sent to the imperial court asking for presents and promotion in office for Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an and rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po. It was possibly this affair the imperial envoy had in mind when in a letter, of which a couple of obviously truncated lines has been preserved by Bu–ston, he suggested that all the families (*gduṅ brgyud*; of the mṄa'–ris rebels?) should be banished, with the exception of those devoted to learning (*mk'as btsun*) [71].

Having finished his job in mṄa'–ris, on his return journey Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an passed through Yar–luṅ. This time Byaṅ–

[68] *LBT*, 122.

[69] *HD–1*, 12b. This account was copied in all the contemporary and later chronicles, beginning with *GR*; see Sørensen, 234–235.

[70] The correct date is given in the Lhasa edition of *LANG*; the Indian edition has 1357, which is preposterous.

[71] On the Žaṅ *mk'an po* affair see *LANG*, 460 and 635–636; *B.Lett.*, 98a.

c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was able to show him all the official documents that supported his case. Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an was satisfied, even amazed, and concluded that on this basis there was no ground for litigation. But in spite of these fine words no practical result came from his visit [72].

In the meantime open warfare had flared up. On the 23rd August, 1346 [73], P'ag–mo–gru was attacked by gÑal and E troops of the g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa. After an initial success, they were thrown back by Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's men and thoroughly defeated; then P'ag–mo–gru granted a truce, assured by an exchange of hostages [74].

As their own forces had proved themselves to be unequal to the task, g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa appealed to rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po, then in mṄa'–ris. The *dpon c'en* took the advice of Lama Kun–spaṅs–pa [75] and of the Sa–skya councillors, and together they appointed as mediator Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's old revered teacher Lama mÑam–med–pa. The latter discussed briefly the matter with the two parties on the spot, then adjourned the hearings for one month, as all the documents of the case were preserved at Sa–skya [76].

In the meantime Kun–spaṅs–pa and rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po had conceived a project to kill Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, to seize sNe'u–gdoṅ and the P'ag–mo–gru *k'ri skor* and to integrate g.Ya'–bzaṅs, P'ag–mo–gru and T'aṅ–po–c'e into a special territory

[72] The main source on Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an's mission is *LANG*, 357–359. After his second journey to Tibet he continued in his brilliant official career. On 16th January 1354, he was appointed honorary *p'ing–chang* of Shensi province and titular *yüan–shih* of a detached office of the *hsüan–cheng yüan*, with the task of pacifying the Hsi–fan people; *YS*, 43.913. He is not mentioned in the Tibetan texts on this occasion and his activity was apparently limited to Eastern Tibet. In August 1355, being an acting *ch'u–mi yüan–shih*, he and two other officials were ordered to enlist troops for service in Central China; *YS*, 44.926. Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an *p'ing–chang* was still alive in 1360; *HD–2*, 118.

[73] This is the date (Fire–Dog) in the Chinese edition of *LANG*; the Indian edition has the incorrect date Earth–Dog 1358.

[74] *LANG*, 360–362.

[75] Lama Kun–spaṅs–pa C'os–grags–dpal played an outstanding role in the events that led to the eclipse of Sa–skya power; see *LANG*, *passim*, and *BA*, 214, 777, 785, 838, 1045. But we know little of his background and of his life, except that he was the elder brother of the *dpon c'en* Yon–btsun and therefore belonged to the Byaṅ–pa family, bore the title of *kuo–kung* and founded the monastery of dPal bZaṅ–ldan; *BYANG*; 3b; *LBT*, 119; *DCBT*, 149a.

[76] *LANG*, 363–365.

under the direct control of the *dpon c'en*, with the concurrence of 'Ts'al–pa. Faced with this serious menace, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an wrote to the *dpon c'en* disclaiming any disloyal intention toward Sa–skya; but it was of no avail. Yet we hear nothing further about the amalgamation project and at least the pretence of an equal judgment was kept up. At rNam–rgyal–ts'oms (below sNe'u–gdoṅ) the *dpon c'en* arrested first the P'ag–mo–gru–pa's attendant dPal–rin, then Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an himself and the g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa, longing them in separate quarters[77].

Shortly after rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po came out in the open. He ordered Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an to surrender sNe'u–gdoṅ, which was to be used as the official residence of the Mongol *tu yüan–shuai* A–san Ga–ya (Esen Qaya). However, he rashly allowed gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po to depart, expecting him to hand over the citadel (*rtse*) of sNe'u–gdoṅ without demur. The faithful steward went indeed to rTse, but only in order to put it in a state of defence; both he and the other officers there refused to admit Esen Qaya, who had to be content with establishing himself in the rNam–rgyal lCaṅ–k'a, the administrative buildings at the foot of the citadel. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an foresaw what was now coming and knew that the *dpon c'en* would try to wring from him an order of surrendering the fortress. So he contrived by a trick to burn his official seal, which alone would have validated any written order he could be compelled to issue. After a couple of days g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa was acquitted and released, and T'aṅ–po–c'e–pa too was liberated. dPal–rin was let free, so that he could carry to the citadel his master's order of surrender. But Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an succeded in entrusting him secretly with a message to the effect that any such order was to be disregarded. The result was that gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po continued in his opposition[78].

At this point the *dpon c'en* resorted to physical force. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was stripped, bound and flogged with seventy lashes. This was repeated during the following days; he received a total of 135 lashes, the scars of which rendered life painful to him for some months. He was also submitted to public indignities, al-

[77] *LANG*, 366–373.

[78] *LANG*, 374–386. It was probably in this period that rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po's son Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an besieged sTag–sna–rdzoṅ, an event which *GBYT*, II, 81b, places in the autumn of 1346.

though his lot was somewhat mitigated by a passing visit of the *slob dpon c'en po* bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an. The *dpon c'en* dared not go farther, but sent his prisoner under escort to a small place near Sa–skya. It was a very distressing journey, rendered more painful by thunderstorms and disastrous floods [79].

In the meantime the *dpon c'en* with his troops has gone to Ra–luṅ, to establish his authority in that region and to listen to the complaints of the population for the ravages caused by the raids of the Duṅ–reṅ (see below). This was in the second month of 1347 [80].

At this moment dBaṅ–brtson, of whose activities in the preceding months we know nothing and who may have gone to Peking, arrived in 'Dam and took over (*gtoṅ len*) from rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po the office of *dpon c'en* [81]. By that time several people, among them the P'ag–mo–gru–pa abbot, were protesting because of the outrageous treatment meted out to one of the foremost members of the nobility. At first this growing support of public opinion made no difference to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's lot and he remained in custody for some months more, until everybody was sick of this long–drawn affair. We are informed from other sources that rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po, resenting his supersession, came to an underhand agreement with the P'ag–mo–gru–pa [82]. With his support a way out of the impasse was sought and found. The chief Lama (no name given) delivered a provisional sentence, according to which Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was allowed conditional freedom. Ma–gcig–pa [83] and Lama mÑam–med–pa stood bail for him and he promised to present himself at Sa–skya at the first summons, to stand final trial there. This settlement was reached at Bo–doṅ E on the 19th December 1347 [84]. At the beginning of 1348 he met the chief Lama at Gu–ru–sgaṅ; then at last he could return to sNe'u–gdoṅ, receiving a warm welcome by the people of his fief during the journey [85].

[79] *LANG*, 387–395.
[80] *RLSP*, WA, 36b.
[81] *LANG*, 397.
[82] *DMS*, 207.
[83] Ma–gcig–pa occurs also in *B.Lett.*, 98b, but seems to be otherwise unknown.
[84] *LANG*, 399.
[85] *LANG*, 400–404.

At once Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's officers raised the question of the validity of the terms, to which he had agreed under compulsion. gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po and the other officials insisted that he was to disregard any summons to Sa–skya. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an demurred at first, but then allowed himself to be convinced; and in the end he agreed to keep or resume the office of *k'ri dpon*, having in view only the welfare of his subjects. In a long speech he pointed out the care he had bestowed upon sNe'u–gdoṅ and upon his people, as well as his consistently loyal behaviour toward dBaṅ–brtson, although it had been ill requitted [86].

The situation was clearly leading to a final showdown. dBaṅ–brtson displayed his unabated hostility by maltreating some dependants of P'ag–mo–gru. Having returned to Sa–skya, he started preparations for war, and the same time he sent memorials to the Court accusing Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an of rebellion. This time the *dpon c'en* took things very seriously and organized a large–scale campaign.

This all–Tibet enterprise marked a turning point in the events. Henceforward it was no longer a quarrel between neighbours, subject to the judgment of the Sa–skya authorities. g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa receded in the background, and his place as Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's main adversary was taken by the *dpon c'en* himself, backed wholeheartedly by the 'Ts'al–pa. The latter dominated a large area in dBus, centered upon sKyid–śod and including the city of Lhasa. They held it under a charter of Qubilai extending their authority also over sTod–luṅ, Gra–p'yi and Dol–po, 'P'yoṅs–po (= 'P'yoṅs–rgyas?), rGya–sman, and theoretically even over E, Dvags and gÑal, where, however, it was never effective [87].

dBaṅ–brtson collected all the statute contingents (*k'rims dmag*) [88], both Mongol and Tibetan, from dBus–gTsaṅ and mṄa'–ris. This large army advanced to Dog–lum–pa. Confronted

86) *LANG*, 405–416.

87) *HT5D*, 62a–b (= *TPS*, 629).

88) dBaṅ–brtson's forces are called *k'rims dmag*, a term which can be understood in two ways. Either it meant "the army of the law", i.e. the troops charged with upholding the rule of the law against rebels; but in this case Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an would not have used this term without a word of expostulation. Or else it meant "troops supplied according to the law", i.e. the levies which each *k'ri skor* was bound to supply to the *hsüan–wei ssŭ* according to the Mongol law. I think the second explanation is more suitable.

with a most serious threat, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an caused Mon–mgar bKra–śis–gdoṅ to be strongly fortified and concentrated his forces there [89].

On 26th August, 1348, dBaṅ–brtson's army arrived before Mon–mgar. A P'ag–mo–gru–pa outpost stationed at P'ag–pa–sna, although numbering only a score of men, had a successful brush with the enemy advance guard at the Byiṅ pass. A few days later the P'ag–mo–gru–pa troops led by gŽon–nu–bzaṅ–po made an evening attack upon the Sa–skya troops at Lhum–po–steṅs; a panic broke out and the *dpon c'en* had to retreat. gŽon–nu bzaṅ–po broke contact and marched swiftly toward T'aṅ–po–c'e, where the 'Ts'al–pa, Yar–'brog–pa and g.Ya'–bzaṅs–pa forces were encamped. The battle that followed (2nd September) was a victory for the P'ag–mo–gru–pa, his *bu–rta* particularly distinguishing themselves [90].

This success was followed by a march upon 'P'yoṅs–rgyas; that estate was looted and its trees were cut down, a savage and devastating act of war, which seems to have been not uncommon in those times. Then the P'ag–mo–gru–pa turned westward toward Gra–p'yi. In the neighbourhood of that village they met and put to flight the main body of the 'Ts'al–pa troops and received the surrender of the small gŽuṅ–pa contingent [91].

At this point the 'Ts'al–pa *k'ri dpon*, with his back to the wall, requested the mediation of the *slob–dpon c'en po* bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an, who arranged a truce and undertook to examine the legal claims of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an upon the Gra–p'yi valley, which in the meantime was placed in his judicial custody (*dpaṅ lag*) [92].

These events of the late summer of 1348 brought about a change in the situation. By now it was clear to everybody that Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was no longer a small feudatory threatened with extinction, but the rising power in the country struggling on equal terms against the *dpon c'en*, even if still paying lip service to the Sa–skya see. For the moment, however, in spite of his (not decisive) defeats, the *dpon c'en* contemptuously refused all propo-

[89] *LANG*, 417–418.
[90] *LANG*, 418–422. On the *bu rta* see above p. 61.
[91] *LANG*, 422–426.
[92] *LANG*, 426–427.

sals of peace and worked hard at reinforcing his army. In doing this, he completely overlooked his duty to prepare the means for the journey of the *slob dpon c'en po*, whom the emperor had invited to court. Of course this cost him the support of that respected churchman. As little could now be expected from that quarter, dBaṅ–brtson betook himself to 'Bri–guṅ, where he tried to enlist the support of the abbot and of the *sgom pa* (administrator) Kun–dga'–rin–c'en. They showed themselves sympathetic with his cause, but decided to wait till the campaign was well on the way before they offered their mediation[93].

In what was intended to be a supreme decisive effort, the statute contingents advanced upon P'ag–mo–gru. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an had gathered all the available forces from his myriarchy and from Yar–stod, but experienced difficulties in keeping them together. Still, the Mon–mgar fortress held out and the *dpon c'en* saw no better means for overcoming its resistence than to devastate the whole of the valley, cutting the trees and putting houses and temples to the torch. This time it was the turn of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an to request the mediation of the *slob dpon c'en po*, who at first demurred, but then crossed the Tsangpo and came to K'ra–'brug for purpose. The *dpon c'en* and his allies of course could not avoid paying their respects to him. As things dragged on, dBaṅ–brtson had to divide his troops into several detachments to facilitate the supply of food and fodder. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an at once seized the occasion, took again the field (19th April 1349) and recovered most of the territory he had lost[94].

The mediation of bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an, in which the *tu yüan–shuai* rDo–rje–skyabs was the effective negotiator, made not progress, and 'Ts'al–pa, worn out, sought for terms. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an demanded the cession of Gra–p'yi, the abandonment of the claims upon 'P'yoṅs–rgyas and the handing over of the only son of the 'Ts'al–pa *k'ri dpon* as hostage. These harsh terms were not accepted at once. But the activity of the

[93] *LANG*, 427–430.

[94] *LANG*, 432–434. The marching and manoeuvering of dBaṅ–brtson's and Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's troops are briefly mentioned also in *NYOS*, 26a–b.

dpon c'en seemed paralyzed and Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an forced his hand occupying Gra–p'yi, Dol–po and gŽuṅ[95], continuing his advance to 'On and carrying out a victorious march through Southern dBus. In the meantime the *dpon c'en* won some little success at Dog–lum–pa; eventually, however, despairing of an equitable decision of the mediator, he withdrew and apparently the *k'rims dmag* melted away. From now on he was on the defensive and P'ag–mo–gru became the foremost military power in dBus[96].

In February 1350 Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an occupied Goṅ–dkar, the fortress on the Tsangpo which was the strategical key of the whole region. Then another mediation was attempted by Naṅ–pa Grags–pa–dpal of mDo–K'ams and by the envoys of the Ya–rtse ruler in Western Nepal[97]. The truce they arranged was short–lived, and in April dBaṅ–brtson's *bu rta* attacked treacherously Goṅ–dkar, where many people were killed or drowned while attempting to swim across the Tsangpo. Retaliation was swift; Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an extended his occupation to gTsaṅ–la yar–gtogs and to Yar Guṅ–t'aṅ. 'Ts'al–pa finally gave in and handed over his only son as hostage[98]. This meant the end of the 'Ts'al–pa myriarchy as a political entity; it lost much of its territory and ceased to represent an important factor in Tibetan politics[99]. It was on this occasion that the city of Lhasa, hitherto a part of the 'Ts'al–pa myriarchy, passed under P'ag–mo–gru–pa control and was entrusted to the administration of the Gye–re abbot[100].

This brought Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an into direct contact with 'Bri–guṅ, which had recovered after 1290 and was again a power to reckon with; it was then governed by the *sgom pa* Kun–dga'–rin–

95) Dol–po and gŽuṅ are two small valleys, the streams of which feed into the Tsangpo between Gra and Yar–luṅ.

96) *LANG*, 435–441. According to all the Tibetan historical works (it is needless to quote them in detail), Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an conquered and subdued dBus, or the greater part of it, in 1349. This is only partly correct. That year established his fortunes, but it took him two years more to see his authority finally recognized in dBus.

97) We learn from several sources that Pṛthivīmalla, king of Ya–ts'e, sent costly presents to Sa–skya and the main temple of Lhasa; see Petech 1980c, 97–98. *LANG* supplies the exact date 1350 for this embassy.

98) *LANG*, 442–443.

99) *DMS*, 194; *HT5D*, 63b (= *TPS*, 630).

100) *NYOS*, 26b.

c'en. Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an visited him and explained the reasons underlying his clearly unlawful opposition to the *dpon c'en*. 'Bri-guṅ, however, objected to his encroachment upon 'Ts'al and rGya-ma, and no agreement was reached[101].

Early in 1350 the foremost leaders of the Tibetan clergy met at Rab-btsun to discuss the possibility of a general pacification; Bu-ston too was present. Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an attended the meeting under a safeconduct issued by the *tu yüan-shuai* gŽon-nu-rgyal-mts'an and the *sgom pa*. He delivered a lengthy oration expatiating on the correct relations between P'ag-mo-gru and Sa-skya in the past and regretting his present disagreement with 'Bri-guṅ after years of cordial relations. No accord was reached, except for a pledge to abstain from hostilities for the moment[102].

The flouting of Sa-skya authority by Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an and his constantly increasing success attracted the attention of the imperial government. It can be doubted whether it fully grasped the significance of the events of the last years. In any case, something had to be done in order to gather direct information and to try to appease the widespread restlessness in Central Tibet. Accordingly, a high-ranking mission was despatched, consisting of an imperial prince (*rgyal bu*) and of a president (*dben pa*; Chin. *yüan-shih*) of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. Our main source (*LANG*) gives no names, but two other texts inform us that the prince was called dKon-mc'og-pa and the *yüan-shih* Nam-mk'a'-dpal[103]. dKon-mc'og-pa is apparently the Tibetan translation of Ratna or Ratnaśrī (Mong. Aratnaśiri), the name of the prince who in 1332 took the 2nd Karma-pa Raṅ-byuṅ-rdo-rje as his religious teacher and who in 1356 sent presents to the 3rd Karma-pa Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje[104]. We can identify him with some degree of certainty with Temür Buqa's grandson Aratnaśiri, appointed prince of Hsi-an in 1328 and prince of Yü in 1329[105]. In 1330 he was sent to quell a revolt of the Hsi-fan[106]. In 1356

[101] *LANG*, 443-446. On the relations of 'Bri-guṅ with P'ag-mo-gru in this period see Sperling 1987, 38-39.

[102] *LANG*, 448-467.

[103] *RLSP*, ZA, 13a; *BRNT*, 92a.

[104] *KARMA*, 108b, 175a; *HD-2*, 101, 111; *KPGT*, 477.

[105] On prince Aratnaśiri see Petech 1990, 264.

[106] *YS*, 34.757.

he was campaigning in Shensi [107] and it was probably from there that he sent his gifts to the Karma–pa. In c. 1350 he was accompanied in his Tibetan journey by his younger brother (*spun*), i.e. either Kiba or Iśibal [108]. As to Nam–mk'a'–dpal, his name first appears in 1334, when *t'ung–chih* Nan–ko–pan is mentioned in a decree concerning the incorporation of the writings of the monk Chung–feng in the Buddhist Canon, and then in 1336, when the younger brother (*nu–bo*) of the official (*mi c'en*) Nam–mk'a'–dpal *t'uṅ–ji* brought to the Karma–pa a letter of invitation from the empress–dowager [109]. In 1347 he was posted in Tibet as a *daruyači* [110].

The prince remained for some time in mDo–k'ams, but the senior *yüan–shih* (*dben rgan*), i.e. Nam–mk'a'–dpal, preceeded him in Tibet. As 'Bri–guṅ was the first myriarchy encountered on the route from the North, he first paid a visit to the *sgom pa* with whom he discussed the situation [111]. Then Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an met both at Guṅ–t'aṅ and, while the *sgom pa* returned North to receive the prince, he informed the *yüan–shih* of the details of the quarrel. Things grew even more complicated when it became apparent that there was a total lack of unity within the imperial mission. According to the rules and to a *'ja' sa* of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, the *yüan–shih* had rank and seal as the head of a detached section (*fen–yüan*) of the Department. As such, he should have been superior in authority to the prince. However, the latter carried a document (*sbel ka*; Mong. *belge*) which made him independent from the Department [112]. No wonder if the two men clashed almost at once; their discord flared out into open enmity, carrying to Tibet the quarrels between Mongol factions that rent the imperial government.

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an treated the *yüan–shih* with the deepest respect, and the latter in his turn advised him to go perso-

[107] *YS*, 44.932.

[108] Aratnaśiri's younger brothers are mentioned only once under the date of 1331 in *YS*, 35.783.

[109] *KARMA*, 111a; Chavannes 1904, 433.

[110] *LANG*, 383.

[111] *LANG*, 459–460.

[112] *LANG*, 467–468. on the visit of Aratnaśiri with his Mongol retinue to Ra–luṅ see *RLSP*, ZA, 13a–14b.

nally, or at least to despatch an envoy to the Court to apply for official rank, for which enterprise he promised his support. Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an took up the cue and sent Śes-rab-rdo-rje and K'ams-c'uṅ dBaṅ-p'yug, accompanied by some Mongol attendants of the *yüan-shih*. They were received by the chief minister (*ch'eng-hsiang*) and were granted audience by the emperor. They obtained less than was expected, viz. a rescript of the Department for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs granting two silver seals for the myriarchy, partial exemption from the postal corvée and other minor privileges[113].

The *yüan-shih* Nam-mk'a'-dpal tried to act impartially. He asked Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an to abandon his claims over Gra-p'yi and 'P'yoṅs-rgyas. After having examined the old documents of Hülegü, he confirmed to P'ag-mo-gru the possession of T'aṅ-po-c'e, but in other respects decided largely in favour of 'Ts'al-pa; and 'Bri-guṅ jumped upon this favourable occasion for getting hold of several estates[114].

After some time prince Aratnaśiri too arrived in Central Tibet. He summoned Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an to pay him due homage, which the latter refused, alleging that he had already done so to the *yüan-shih* and that this was enough. This act of contumacy of course antagonized the prince, who gave permission to the *sgom pa* to seize Goṅ-dkar. The guards of the prince (*res pa*; Mong. *keśikten*) and the household troops (*bza' dmag*) of 'Bri-guṅ advanced through gTsaṅ-la yar-gtogs, burning and looting on their way[115]. In the meantime Aratnaśiri met the *yüan-shih* and a real row broke out between them, the prince snatching from the hands of Nam-mk'a'-dpal his great seal and his *'ja' sa*. Then he proceeded, on his own authority, to a wholesale change in the top layer of the Mongol administration of dBus-gTsaṅ. He appointed his own attendant Dingǰu as commander (*tu yüan-shuai*) of the Mongol garrison. For some unknown reason he dismissed the *dpon c'en* and reappointed rGyal-ba-bzaṅ-po in his place[116]. Together, they marched upon Goṅ-dkar.

[113] *LANG*, 468–473.

[114] *LANG*, 473–476.

[115] It seems that dBaṅ-brtson too took some part in this; *RLSP*, ZA, 13b–14b.

[116] *LANG*, 476–477; cfr. 497. Both editions of *LANG* give the name of the dismissed

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an made preparations fo the defence of his territory. He also supplied an escort to the *yüan–shih*, who had placed himself under his protection, but now, acting against his advice, had decided to return north of the Tsangpo. The prince, then at Yol gZims–k'aṅ, tried to get hold of the *yüan–shih*, but his men fell into an ambush and were put to flight with the loss of five princely bodyguards (*res pa*) killed and many more wounded. The prince fled to sTod–luṅ–p'u (to the West of Lhasa). When the *yüan–shih* with the P'ag–mo–gru soldiers followed him there, he abandoned the Lhasa region and retreated to 'P'an–yul. Not feeling safe even there, he intended to flee beyond the gDaṅ–la, but the *tu yüan–shuai* gŽon–nu–rgyal–mts'an dissuaded him and convinced him to meet and make peace with the *yüan–shih*[117].

These developments were apparently followed with growing misgivings by the 'Bri–guṅ–pa, then the leading power in northern dBus. The senior *sgom pa* Kun–dga'–rin–c'en, head of the 'Bri–guṅ secular administration, went to the rescue of the prince, and with his support the latter was able to return south. Of course the relations between 'Bri–guṅ and P'ag–mo–gru were by now severely strained, and open conflict was sparked off by a quarrel over the possession of rDo–ra (i.e. the Do valley). The P'ag–mo–gru–pa got the upper hand and the prince fled once more, this time to mTs'ur–mda', apparently near the Karma–pa seat mTs'ur–p'u[118]. After this, he vanished out of the picture. Apparently he had enough of Tibet and returned to China; this happened apparently in 1351. The *yüan–shih* stayed a little longer; in 1352 Nam–mk'a'–dpal *dbon śri* (*yüan–shih*) paid a parting visit to the Karma–pa at mTs'ur–p'u[119].

bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an and the (former) *dpon c'en* dBaṅ–p'yug–dpal tried to mediate between P'ag–mo–gru and 'Bri–guṅ. The short truce they arranged was broken when a body of 'Bri–guṅ soldiers from Mal–gro invaded 'On–p'u, burning the woods of the valley. The P'ag–mo–gru–pa troops went to the rescue and planted their banner at Bra–ma–t'aṅ in 'On. A strongly

dpon c'en as dBaṅ–p'yug–dpal. This must be a mistake; the *dpon c'en* at that time was certainly dBaṅ–brtson.

117) *LANG*, 477–482.

118) *LANG*, 482–486; cfr. 498.

119) *HD–2*, 110.

worded letter adressed by Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an to the junior *sgom pa* Śākya–bzaṅ–po made the situation worse. The P'ag–mo–gru abbot tried making advances of peace to his 'Bri–guṅ colleague, but his envoys were not admitted to the latter's presence. Thus a showdown became inevitable. The *sgom pa* led his troops southward, entered 'On–p'u, and a decisive battle was fought at Bra–sgor[120]. It resulted in the utter defeat of the 'Bri–guṅ army, which suffered heavy losses. The *sgom pa* Kun–dga'–rin–c'en was allowed to escape. An attempt by the junior *sgom pa* to retrieve the sorts of 'Bri–guṅ by concentrating the troops from 'P'an–yul at rTse–k'a was defeated. In the two encounters a total of 363 men were taken. However, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an did not want to press his advantage too far, and an agreement was concluded, by which the prisoners on both sides were released. After having put his seal on this agreement, Kun–dga'–rin–c'en died and Śākya–bzaṅ–po took his place as senior *sgom pa.* These events broke the military power of the 'Bri–guṅ–pa. They may have remained sullenly hostile, but ceased to oppose openly the paramountcy of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an[121].

After this signal success there appears to have been a lull in Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's political activity. It was apparently a period of consolidation of his rule over dBus. Besides, he was fully engaged in the construction and endowment of the great monastery of rTses–t'aṅ on the Tsangpo, the abbotship of which remained hereditary in his house. The work was begun in 1351 and completed in the following year[122].

Actually those years were occupied by petty warfare in southernmost Tibet, in which the P'ag–mo–gru–pa took no part. It was originated by the Duṅ–reṅ, an obscure group of marauding clans on the northern slopes of the Himalaya. They were divided into two groups, Southern (Lho Duṅ) in the uplands of Ñaṅ–stod, in the Chumbi valley and in the Ha and Paro districts of Western

[120] This Bra–sgor was certainly in 'On and should not be confused with the well-known monastery of that name in gÑal.

[121] *LANG*, 486–495). Cfr. Sperling 1987, 38. Incidentally, a letter from Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an to the 'Bri–guṅ councillors gives us some interesting details on the effects of warfare upon trade and agriculture.

[122] On the foundation of rTses–t'aṅ see *BA*, 1082–1083. In *LANG*, the account is relegated to a sort of appendix at the end of the book (812–818).

Bhutan, and Eastern (Śar Duṅ) in Lho–brag, extending probably to Mon–yul and Eastern Bhutan. Already in 1340 their raiding activities compelled the Sa–skya authorities to organise a campaign against the Lho Duṅ. It met with full success, the Duṅ were suppressed and a census was taken in order to place them within the frame of Central Tibetan administration. This success was not lasting and in 1347 the trouble reappeared and worsened, so that in 1351 a concerted drive against them was deemed necessary. This time the Sa–skya government was passed over. The myriarchies of dBus and gTsaṅ assembled a body of troops, divided into three divisions. The Duṅ–reṅ chief Don–grub–dar was forced to retire eastward, and the two sections of his people became separated. In 1352 the Lho Duṅ were dealt a deadly blow by the treacherous massacre of their chiefs at P'ag–ri; they were finally subdued two years later. Don–grub–dar and the Śar Duṅ saw that the game was up and asked for quarters. In 1353 an agreement was reached and the Śar Duṅ chiefs entered the service of the rGyal–rtse ruler 'P'ags–pa–dpal–bzaṅ as petty officials. Nothing more was heard of them afterwards [123].

The 1351–1353 campaigns helped 'P'ags–pa–dpal–bzaṅ to rise to an influential position in the Ñaṅ–c'u valley, laying thus the foundations for the later "kingdom" of rGyal–rtse. He and his family remained loyal subjects and supporters of the Sa–skya–pa and of the Mongols to the end, although they never opposed the P'ag–mo–gru–pa growing power.

As already remarked, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an took no notice of the these happenings, which after all concerned merely a rugged and scantily inhabited strip of mountainous country. Anyhow, he is silent about them.

The same applies for another event: the Tibetan journey of Čosbal's grandson, the Chen–hsi Wu–ching prince Prajñā, who in 1353 visited Bu–ston at Ža–lu, obtaining instruction from him and promising in return a lenient treatment of criminals in his territory [124]. It seems that the prince, in spite of the special position enjoyed by his ancestors in Central Tibet, abstained from political

[123] See my paper "Duṅ–reṅ" due to appear in *AOHung*.

[124] *LBT*, 139. On prince Prajñā and the philological questions connected with this name see Petech 1990, 267–268.

activity there. In the same year Bu–ston himself paid a lengthy visit to Sa–skya, exchanging religious discourses with the Lamas of the 'K'on family[125].

In the 7th month of 1353 Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's newly established authority in dBus was challenged for the last time. Lama Kun–spaṅs–pa, one of the most influential member of the Sa–skya council, sent reinforcements to 'Bri–guṅ and a final concerted effort was set upon foot by 'Bri–guṅ, g.Ya'–bzaṅs and Naṅ–pa Grags–dbaṅ. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an met the danger with a prudent rearrangement of his forces. His defensive strategy was successful and the allies had to retreat, leaving behind the usual wake of burning and destruction; even the bSam–yas temple was involved. Naṅ–pa Grags–dbaṅ then established himself in the outskirts of Lhasa, where he held the Grom–pa–ri (?), while the P'ag–mo–gru–pa occupied the lCags–k'a–ri (apparently the present lCags–po–ri). While desultory fighting was continuing there, a force of about 850 men from gÑal, led by the g.Ya'–bzaṅs *k'ri dpon* 'Bum–grags–'od, attacked P'ag–mo–gru from the south–east, advancing to Lhun–po–rtse. They were surrounded there and had to capitulate. This put an end to g.Ya'–bzaṅs's last effort; that myriarchy never recovered from this blow, most of its estates passing in the hands of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an[126].

Before that, Bla–ma Dam–pa bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an had taken matters in his hands. He wrote to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, proposing a conference for the purpose of reaching a final reconciliation between him and the *dpon c'en* rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po; we note in passing that the latter seems to have held aloof from the fighting of the last months. The P'ag–mo–gru–pa chief was not adverse to the idea, but at that moment he was called away to meet the attack from gÑal, and the matter remained in suspense for the rest of the year[127].

The Mongol government, intending perhaps to bolster their waning influence through a judicious grant of titles, sent to Tibet rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po's nephew dKon–cog–rin–c'en[128] and rGyal–

[125] *LBT*, 140.
[126] *LANG*, 501–508.
[127] *LANG*, 508–509.
[128] dKon–cog–rin–c'en had come to court with his uncle in the twenties of the century

mts'an, the son of gŽon–nu–rgyal–mts'an *tu yüan–shuai.* They brought the title of Si–tu for the *dpon c'en* and the tiger–head button of a *san tu yüan–shuai* with the connected seal for gŽon–nu–rgyal–mts'an, who at that time seems to have been the most prominent official in the *hsüan–wei ssu*[129]. dKon–cog–rin–c'en himself had been appointed *fu–shih tu yüan–shuai* before he left the capital[130]. As a matter of fact, these imperial titles were by then losing importance. In those very years Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an started bestowing on the most distinguished members of his officialdom new titles, such as *c'en po*[131].

After the New Year's festival of 1354 the tripartite conference (Bla–ma Dam–pa, rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po and Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an) was convened at Goṅ–dkar, the P'ag–mo–gru–pa playing the courteous host. It was a quite new situation. After his complete victory in the fighting of 1353, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an was no longer a defendant on trial, but the strong man of the country. Further resistance from the Sa–skya side was apparently impossible, and the conference was an one–sided affair, resolving itself into the submission of the *dpon c'en* and his coming over to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's side. To the latter's sharp recriminations, as he recounted the insults and sufferings he had undergone in the preceeding years, the *dpon c'en* replied with humble apologies and with the acceptation of P'ag–mo–gru paramountcy and annexation of several estates[132].

After the conference the Lama and the *dpon c'en* returned to sKyid–śod. Things in the 'Ts'al–pa area were settled by a compromise, according to which Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an gave up lCags–k'a–ri and both fortresses were to be dismantled. However, the garrison of Grom–pa–ri, under the command of a member of the Naṅ–pa family, offered resistance. As the 'Ts'al–pa were unable (or unwiling) to overcome it, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an sent *c'en po*

and made quite a career there. In 1339 the Karma–pa met him at Ta–tu. He bore the title of *Ta Yüan kuo–shih*. *GBYT*, II, 76a; *KARMA*, 114a.

129) For the background of gŽon–nu–rgyal–mts'an see *LANG*, 795–797.

130) *LANG*, 508–510.

131) The title *c'en po* was always prefixed to the name, against Tibetan construction. It was a mechanical translation of Mongol *eke*, "great". Afterwards the term C'en–po Hor was currently employed for Mong. Eke Mangγol, Chin. Ta Yüan.

132) *LANG*, 511–521.

sNel Rin–c'en–bzaṅ–po, who after a siege of fifty days compelled its surrender[133].

The change of sides by the *dpon c'en* and the crushing of the resistance in the Lhasa region had far-reaching consequence. The main forces of the Naṅ–pa clan turned against the *dpon c'en* and attacked Śaṅs mT'oṅ–smon, the headquarters oh his estate. rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po, at the time still in sKyid–śod, was helpless and called upon the P'ag–mo–gru–pa "to uphold the law" (*k'rims grogs la*). In other words, the head of the Sa–skya administration recognized P'ag–mo–gru as the authority responsible for law and order in gTsaṅ too. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an sent a body of his troops under the command of *c'en po* Rin–c'en–bzaṅ–po, giving him full powers as his alter–ego. Rin–c'en–bzaṅ–po marched swiftly westward and was joined on the way by the *dpon c'en*'s scanty forces which seem to have been of little military value. He arrived to the lower reaches of the Śab–c'u river, where the Śaṅs–pa levies and the Mongol forces of the *hsüan–wei ssu* were waiting for him. As the united army started to cross the Śab–c'u, it was attacked by the Naṅ–pa men. The P'ag–mo–gru infantry succeeded in fording the river; it suffered heavily in the process, but finally the enemy broke and fled. Armed opposition having collapsed, the *c'en po* prepared to march straight upon Sa–skya. At this moment, however, Lama mÑam–med–pa and Žaṅ–dpe–ba accompanied by Naṅ–pa bSod–nams–seṅ–ge came to the camp, interviewed the *dpon c'en* rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po and convinced him that it was not advisable to go to such extremities. Of course the *dpon c'en* could not wish his new allies to be too successful, and in spite of the remonstrances of the *c'en po*, who wanted to plant a garrison in Sa–skya, he agreed that military operations should stop. The *c'en po* could not decently act against the wishes of the *dpon c'en*, to whose support he had been sent, and both marched back to C'u–mig, where rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po handsomely rewarded the P'ag–mo–gru commander and his men[134].

Perhaps one of the consequence of these events was the break–up of the formal unity of the four branches of the 'K'on family,

[133] *LANG*, 521–523.

[134] *LANG*, 523–531. Cf. *HT5D*, 78b (= *TPS*, 637).

which upto then had resided in their several *bla bran* within the Sa–skya complex. After 1355 mK'as–btsun's son Kun–dga'–rin–c'en (1331–1399) and his brother settled at C'u–mig under the protection of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an; and henceforward the gŽi–t'og branch was called by the name C'u–mig–pa [135]. In 1354 bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an of the Dus–mc'od *bla braṅ* bought from a descendant of *dpon c'en* Kun–dga'–bzaṅ–po the fortress hill (*rdzoṅ ri*) of sTag–ts'aṅ rDzoṅ–k'a (localization unknown) and on 5.III (19th March) of that year he laid the foundations of a castle [136], where his family took its permanent residence and from which it took a second name, although the old one prevailed in official use [137]. All this brought an element of discord and division in the Sa–skya polity, contributing to some extent to its advancing decay.

Anyhow, peace had descended upon the sorely–tried country. Although the Sa–skya central administration and the *hsüan–wei ssu* continued as before, their authority was limited to the area of the Sa–skya monastery, while the whole of gTsaṅ passed directly or indirectly under the de–facto rule of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an. All the Tibetan chronicles place this event in 1354.

V.3 – *The rise of P'ag–mo–gru: the consolidation of the new regime*

The events of 1349–1354 had laid the foundations for P'ag–mo–gru–pa rule over both dBus and gTsaṅ. From the point of view of Realpolitik, however, it was neither secure nor final. Looking at it under the constitutional angle, it had no legal existence, as the imperial authority remained unquestioned, the dBus–gTsaṅ *hsüan–wei ssu* was still functioning, at least on paper, and above all the new strong man continued to pay lip service to the

[135] *GBYT*, II, 85b–86a.

[136] *GBYT*, II, 28b.

[137] sTag–ts'aṅ–pa was the name by which the Dus–mc'od branch of the family was known to the Ming dynasty. Nam–mk'a'–legs–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an of sTag–ts'aṅ, to whom in 1415 the Yung–lo emperor gave the title Fu–chiao–wang, was the grandson of the last Pai–lan prince. On the whole question see Sato 1986, 236–239.

authority of the Sa–skya Lamas[138]. The new structure was still inchoate and only its main outlines were taking shape. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's basic conception was the undermining of the power of the various *k'ri dpon* and the establishment of a net of local stewardships (*gžis k'a*) based on forts (*rdzoṅ*; but this term is never used in *LANG*), held by his old trusted servants[139]. In the long run these stewardships became hereditary, giving thus origin to a new aristocracy existing alongside with those *k'ri skor* that made their submission in time. The new P'ag–mo–gru–pa policy, however, cannot be dealt with here, as it lies beyond the scope of the present work.

Our main (and almost exclusive) source continues to be *LANG*, which grows more and more detailed and discursive as it draws near to the time of writing (ca. 1361). It also assumes some special features, such as an increasing preoccupation with matters of etiquette and of precedence during the official conferences. It is also pointedly silent about the relations with the imperial court of abbots and scholars not belonging to the Sa–skya school. To give an example, the name of the Karma–pa Rol–pa'i–rdo–rje (1340–1383), who in 1358/9 travelled to the Court on the invitation of the emperor, never appears in the text.

In 1356[140] a serious incident took place, viz. the sudden imprisonment of the *dpon c'en* rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po by C'os–kyi–rgyal–mts'an (1332–1359) and his half–brother, the nominal chief abbot Blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an (1332–1364), the sons of the *ti–shih* Kun–dga'–rgyal–mts'an. Our text informs us of the fact in a single sentence[141].

This coup was actually the work of an influential combination between the Lha–k'aṅ *bla braṅ*, to which the two brothers belonged (and therefore often called the Lha–k'aṅ–pa) and the lords of La–stod Byaṅ. The head of the latter family was Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an or Nam–mk'a'–brtan–pa, usually cal-

[138] It appears that Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an considered the *c'os rje* Bla–ma Dam–pa bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an of the Rin–c'en–sgaṅ *bla braṅ* as the foremost Lama of Sa–skya.

[139] For a list of the *rdzoṅ* established by Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an see *DMS*, 210.

[140] The date is given in *GBYT*, II, 172b, as 5th day of the 2nd month of the Water–Monkey year, a palpable mistake for Fire–Monkey. It seems to correspond to 7th March, 1356.

[141] *LANG*, 533. Cf. *BRNT*, 104b.

led Byaṅ–pa or (by anticipation) Byaṅ–pa *dpon c'en*. He was the youngest son of rDo–rje–mgon–po and thus a grandson of the *dpon c'en* Yon–btsun. Already as a young man he received the rank of Si–tu with the tiger–head button of the third rank and was appointed judge (*ǰaryōči*) of dBus–gTsaṅ. Later he received the title of *kuo–kung* and the gold seal with the rock–crystal button. He appears for the first time in 1352, probably upon his appointment as judge, and at once showed himself hostile to P'ag–mo–gru and closely associated with prince Aratnaśiri [142]. The connecting link between the two families was represented by Lama Kun–spaṅs–pa, a cousin of rDo–rje–mgon–po and a maternal uncle of Lama Blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an.

The sources afford not the slightest clue to the reasons and aims of rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po's imprisonment. We can only suppose that, since the *dpon c'en* had completely veered over to the side of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an and had become his supporter, his capture was an attempt to stem P'ag–mo–gru–pa rise by laying hold of his main prop within the Sa–skya administration.

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an handled the new situation cautiously. Of course he was obliged to procure the liberation of the *dpon c'en*, if only in order to uphold his own prestige. His first concern was to get hold of the official seal of the *dpon c'en*, which was in the keeping of the latter's son Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an, at that time residing at rDzoṅ–k'a. He was summoned to Rin–spuṅs, where he arrived safely. Then Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an started leisurely to collect his troops. His slow and prudent action, clearly aimed at avoiding an armed clash, was, however, disturbed by the rash activities of the nephews of the prisoner, who at the head of their *bu–rta* started raiding the border tracts of the Sa–skya domain. The Lha–k'aṅ–pa and Byaṅ–pa tried to buy them off by offering the cession of some estates, but to no avail. Later Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an himself intervened, placing these mischief–makers under a bland arrest [143].

The imperial officers found themselves in an awkward situation. gŽon–nu–rgyal–mts'an, the most prominent member of the

[142] *BYANG*, 6a; *LANG*, 496–497.
[143] *LANG*, 533–536.

hsüan-wei ssu[144], who apparently did not know how he and his office should cope with this emergency, proceeded to Rin–spuṅs together with the commanders of the military mail stations of the North. Being thus assured at least of the benevolent neutrality of the imperial officials, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an convened a conference of the foremost political leaders, including Lama Kun–spaṅs–pa, the Lha–k'aṅ–pa brothers and Byaṅ–pa. The crafty Kun–spaṅs–pa offered to appoint as *dpon c'en* 'Pags–pa–dpal–bzaṅ, the chief of rGyal–rtse, subject of course to the approval of the emperor; but the offer was summarily rejected[145].

The conference assembled at Žu–'brog, with the participation of the officials of the *hsüan–wei ssu*[146] and of the respected Lama bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an (1332–1362) of the Dus–mc'od branch. There was much wrangling about petty ceremonial questions, such as who should bow and take off his bonnet to whom. When business began in earnest, the assembled leaders of dBus left no doubt about their unanimous request of an unconditional liberation of the *dpon c'en*. Kun–spaṅs–pa, having failed in all his attempts to obtained at least a delay, returned to Sa–skya to report, and the conference adjourned[147].

Then another round of negotiations was started by Lama Śar–pa (no personal name is given), who banked on the record of his family, of which two members had been Imperial Preceptors; he was seconded by Lama mÑam–med–pa, the old teacher of the P'ag–mo–gru–pa leader. The lengthy discourses supposed to have been delivered on this occasion are interesting in so far as they show how the history of the Sa–skya – Yüan period was viewed by its actors and their epigons. But once more the discussions led to no results. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an took the stand that the

[144] As no Mongol *tu yüan–shuai* was resident in Tibet at that time, gŽon–nu–rgyal–mts'an, in his character as *san tu yüan–shuai* and as bearer of the tiger–head button of the third rank and keeper of the six–cornered seal of the *hsüan–wei ssu*, was for practical purpose the highest official in the permanent imperial organization in Tibet; *LANG*, 553. No holder of the regular *hsüan–wei shih* title appears in *LANG*, which mentions only the *dben we si pa* or the *mi dpon* of the *dben we si*, always in the plural. Probably the office of *shih* was vacant or had even fallen in abeyance.

[145] *LANG*, 537–540.

[146] We are informed in this connection that some Mongol troops were still quartered in Tibet; *LANG*, 555,

[147] *LANG*, 540–545, 552–557.

Lha–k'an–pa brothers were rebels in the eyes of Mongol law and as such were to be punished under the terms of the imperial *'ja' sa* brought to Sa–skya by Qipčaqtai and by Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an [148].

Śar–pa brought this uncompromising answer to Sa–skya, where it was discussed in the council, both Lha–k'an–pa brothers being present, but in the absence of Byan–pa, who was becoming suspicious of the intentions of his relatives and feared they would use him as scapegoat. The council decided to send out once more Lama Kun–spans–pa to arrange a compromise. The Lama negotiated skilfully and for a long time with the P'ag–mo–gru–pa. To lessen the tension, he even proposed that rGyal–ba–bzan–po's son Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an should take the place of his father as a hostage at Sa–skya. The suggestion was flatly refused, but the idea was picked up by the P'ag–mo–gru officials in the opposite sense; and Byan–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an had to use his authority to save Kun–spans–pa from being arrested and held as pawn. In the end Kun–spans–pa was sent back to Sa–skya as the bearer of a formal letter (*bca' hu*, Chin. *cha–fu*), countersigned by him, which amounted to an ultimatum requesting the immediate release of the *dpon c'en*, the request being backed by a forward move of the troops under the command of *c'en po* Rin–c'en–bzan–po [149].

The game was up, as Sa–skya clearly had not the means to oppose armed resistance; so the Lha–k'an *bla bran* had to bow to the inevitable. rGyal–ba–bzan–po was brought to the P'ag–mo–gru camp by Lama Kun–spans–pa. He was received there with great solemnity and with ostentatious rejoicings, of course intended to emphasize the triumph of P'ag–mo–gru. The matter had ended with the humiliation of the Sa–skya–pa, whose last attempt at opposition had failed completely. Byan–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an had obtained this success without shedding blood, thanks to his consummate diplomacy backed by an adequate display of military force. The whole proceedings were capped by a memorial sent to the emperor to inform him of the events [150]. It seems, however, that the Lha–k'an brothers obtained immunity for their deed, although

[148] *LANG*, 561–570.
[149] *LANG*, 571–586; *DMS*, 209. The date of the letter is given in *GBYT*, II, 172b, as 5th day of the 5th month, corresponding perhaps to 4th June, 1356.
[150] *LANG*, 598.

this is not mentioned expressly in *LANG*, but only alluded to obliquely in another context. Blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an may have kept his empty title of chief abbot, although he was not considered as such by the P'ag–mo–gru–pa. C'os–kyi–rgyal–mts'an, who perhaps had committed himself deeper than his half–brother, left in the same year 1356 for Peking, where he was appointed teacher of the heir–apparent prince Ayuśiridara with the title of *Ta Yüan kuo–shih*; he died in China in 1359[151].

As to rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po, by now a broken reed, he tendered a solemn act of submission to P'ag–mo–gru, including a written pledge of loyalty and the surrender of some of his estates. Even his seal of office was handed over to the custody of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an. Still he kept (at least so it appears) the empty title of *dpon c'en*, shorn of any vestige of power[152]. He retired to mT'oṅ–smon in Śans, where he received initiation from Karma–pa Rol–pa'i–rdo–rje[153]. His nephew dKon–cog–rin–c'en was considered by some as the acting *dpon c'en*; but since the imperial decree granting him the tiger–head seal as *fu–shih tu yüan–shuai* had never been officially promulgated in Tibet, his character of *dpon c'en* was disawoved[154]; and indeed, he is not included in the official list of the *dpon c'en*.

P'ag–mo–gru military control was secured by the permanent occupation of C'u–mig, although it was formally an estate belonging to the gŽi–t'og *bla braṅ*; it was heavily garrisoned and placed in the charge of rDo–rje–rgyal–mts'an as steward (*gñer*)[155].

During the New Year's festival of 1357 an imperial envoy called Yi–la'o (possibly a title and not a name) arrived in Tibet. He was the bearer of an imperial decree granting to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an the rank and seal of Ta'i–si–tu (*ta ssu–t'u*). Although this title was not quite rare, in this case it implied the recognition by the emperor of his outstanding position in Central Tibet, and the Tibetans seem to have considered this act as the legalization of the new regime. Along with Yi–lao but independently from him, another envoy called Klu–rgyal *ta śri mgon* (Chin. *ta–shih kuan*)

[151] *SKDR*, 154a.
[152] *LANG*, 605–609; cf. *GBYT*, II, 172b.
[153] *KARMA*, 175a; *KPGT*, 488.
[154] *LANG*, 619.
[155] *LANG*, 611–614, 617; *BRNT*, 104b.

brought an edict inviting Lama bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an to court[156]. These imperial messengers, however high–ranking, were no longer empowered to supervise and interfere with Tibetan administration like Qipčaqtai and Dar–ma–rgyal–mts'an one generation earlier; they were limited to the ceremonial task of inviting to court high Lamas. The Yüan government, fully occupied with the mounting revolt in Central China, tacitly gave up trying to reassert its direct authority in Tibet.

A partial exception was represented by an edict adressed to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an. The 'Bri–guṅ–pa had appealed to the emperor and had obtained from him an order to the P'ag–mo–gru–pa enjoining the restitution of 'On and 'Ol–k'a. They followed up this theoretical success by claiming also possession of rGya–ma, where the local *k'ri dpon* had resigned his office. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an ignored the imperial command and refused every one of these requests. The consequence was serious fighting, chiefly around rGya–ma. There was also some untoward meddling by the P'ag–mo–gru abbot. In the end Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an got his own way and no territorial change took place[157].

In another field he complied more or less gracefully with the imperial decree which had charged him with providing the means and making the arrangements for the journey of bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an to Ta–tu. This gave rise to frictions and small bickerings with the future *ti–shih*, who had a personal dislike for the P'ag–mo–gru–pa; consequently, the actual departure was long delayed.

Things at Sa–skya had remained unsettled; the party struggle there continued and reached its climax with the murder of Lama Kun–spaṅs–pa. The circumstances are obscure and the reasons for the deed are not apparent; we are only told that Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an asked the Byaṅ–pa *dpon–c'en* not to interfere and requested a written engagement in this sense, perhaps in order to prevent a private vengeance[158]. When the P'ag–mo–gru–pa ruler betook

[156] *LANG*, 644–647. The rather vague Chinese title means Office (*kuan*) of a High Commissioner (*ta–shih*). Perhaps the same official brought to Karma Rol–pa'i–rdo–rje the imperial letter inviting him to the capital.

[157] *LANG*, 647–654, 659–661.

[158] *LANG*, 665–667.

himself to C'u–mig in order to investigate, this affair receded in the background as an even more serious piece of news reached him there: the *dpon c'en* rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po, who in the meantine had delegated his judicial work to dBaṅ–brtson, had suddenly died at Lha–rtse, where he had been invited by the Lhasa authorities for a conference. The cause of his death was rumored to be either assassination by dBaṅ–brtson and his son, or excessive drinking of strong liquor[159]; the first alternative seems to have been generally believed. The event took place at the end of 1357 or in January 1358.

After performing the funeral rites for the deceased, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an summoned to C'u–mig the councillors of Sa–skya, presided over by Bla–ma Dam–pa bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an. The first days after their arrival were occupied by the New Year's festival of 1358, held in the presence of the imperial envoy; on that occasion the latter presented solemnly to the P'ag–mo–gru–pa the seal of Tai–si–tu. Then the conference adjourned to Sa–skya itself, where several pending questions were dealt with[160].

The seal of the *dpon c'en* had remained in the hands of his son Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an, whom the *LANG* upto this point calls by the title *slob dpon*. He had been adopted as son by Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an after his reconciliation with rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po. At an unknown moment the latter procured for him the office of *naṅ so*, soon enhanced to *naṅ cen pa*, by which title he was later known. He inherited the Śaṅs estate[161]. Now he handed over the seal of his father to the conference, which was sitting at the administrative headquarters in the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo. Even the great official seal (*dam k'a*) of the Sa–skya see was abandoned by Bla–ma Dampa to the keeping of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, as a sign that the temporalities of Sa–skya were henceforward to be supervised by him. To give a practical backing to this formal act, the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo itself was opened to Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, who garrisoned it with about 200 men, of which 130 were retainers (*bza' pa*) of P'ag–mo–gru.

159) *GBYT*, II, 78a; *LANG*, 668–669. dBaṅ–brtson had led a rather effaced life after his dismissal. We know only that in 1352 he had obtained instruction from Bu–ston; *LBT*, 139.

160) *LANG*, 670–672.

161) *LANG*, 680; *GBYT*, II, 76a and 78a.

mK'as–btsun's son Kun–dga'–rin–c'en (1331–1399), who resided at C'u–mig under P'ag–mo–gru–pa protection, received from the emperor the title of *kuan–ting kuo–shih* with the great crystal seal and took up the office of abbot of gŽi–t'og; he was guaranteed the necessary means for the upkeep of his dignity[162].

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an, who was in indifferent health, returned to Yar–luṅs. There he settled finally the old question of the Three Valleys ('On, 'Ol–k'a, rDo–ra), which had become acute after the imperial decree on this subject. Eventually the valleys were left in his possession in exchange for an almost complete autonomy for 'Bri–guṅ[163].

In the meantime the opposition elements within Sa–skya had gathered at Lha–rtse under the leadership of the local chief. Pending the arrival of reinforcements for the Byaṅ–pa, they attacked the new monastery of Nam–riṅ and marched through La–stod as far as Zaṅ–zaṅ. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an sent a strong force under *c'en po* Rin–c'en–bzaṅ–po. Before their arrival, the Lha–rtse levies under the command of dBaṅ–brtson had reached Sa–skya and laid siege to the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo. But the P'ag–mo–gru troops were timely re–directed toward Sa–skya and apparently took the besiegers in the back. Their victory was complete and final. It was followed by stern reprisals: dBaṅ–brtson was taken and thrown into jail, many of his men fell fighting and the prisoners (464 men in all) were blinded[164]. This ruthless act, the only one of this kind in Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's long career[165], stamped out the last embers of opposition in gTsaṅ.

Lha–rtse was taken and entrusted in judicial custody to the Bla–ma Dam–pa and to Bu–ston; this was one of the very few instances in which that great scholar played a half–political role.

At the end of 1358 the *yüan–shih* Dharmakirti[166], whom the emperor had sent to bring the formal rescript of invitation to Lama bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an and to escort him to the

[162] *LANG*, 682–684; *SKDR*, 116a–b.

[163] *LANG*, 686–688.

[164] *LANG*, 688–690.

[165] The man immediately responsible for the atrocious deed was *c'en po* Rin–c'en–bzaṅ–po; *HT5D*, 98b (= *TPS*, 645).

[166] Dharmakirti was one of the ten *inaq*, "friends", who took part in the Śakti cult practised by the emperor Toγan Temür; he was killed in 1364. See *KSWS*, 68–69, 98.

capital, had reached 'Dam. After the New Year's festival of 1359 the usual ceremonies for the state reception of the envoy and of the edict were staged[167]. In the meantime the Imperial Preceptor Kun–dga'–rgyal–mts'an had died at the end of 1358[168]. As a consequence, the invitation to bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an was changed into a nomination as *ti–shih*, the decree being brought to Tibet by Dharmakirti and by the *yüan–shih* A'i–bu. On the same occasion the *ti–shih's* brother Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an received the title of Pai–lan *wang* and an imperial decree confirmed his possession of sTag–ts'aṅ rDzoṅ–k'a[169]. Perhaps because of his new status, the traveling preparations for bSod–nams–blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an took a very long time. The caravan gathering in the train of the Lama consisted of about 800 men. As they were slowly approaching P'ag–mo–gru, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an stopped them en route, remarking drily that "if they are soldiers, they are too few; and if they are envoys, they are too many". Things turned well eventually, and the Lama visited bSam–yas and gDan–sa T'el, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an offering a lavish hospitality. Then further unpleasantness arose, and the Lama returned in high dudgeon to Sa–skya, where he had trouble with the Byaṅ–pa *dpon c'en*, who permitted the 'Jad estate to be raided by his men[170].

Gradually the last questions left open by the tragic events of the preceeding years were settled. dBaṅ–brtson was spared his life and was placed under custody in 'On. Lama Blo–gros–rgyal–mts'an and *dpon c'en* Byaṅ–pa, who had quarelled during the last stages of rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po's imprisonment, were compelled to make peace, under a sealed document drawn up in the presence of witnesses. A new commander was appointed to the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo. In 1360 Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an hardened his grip on Sa–skya by granting, with the concurrence of the Lamas, the title and office of *ñe gnas c'en po* (Chief Attendant) of the gŽi–t'og to a man he could trust: *c'en po* 'P'ags–pa–dpal–bzaṅ of rGyal–

[167] *LANG*, 691–696.

[168] Karma Rol–pa'i–rdo–rje heard of the event in Amdo on 24th January 1359; *KARMA*, 178a.

[169] *GBYT*, II, 28b.

[170] *LANG*, 702–712.

rtse[171]. Then the new Imperial Preceptor and his companions finally departed, being accompanied by Sanghaśrī *tu yüan-shuai*, whom the emperor had sent to escort them to Ta–tu[172].

The most important event of 1360 (at least in P'ag–mo–gru–pa eyes) was the death of the P'ag–mo–gru hierarch Ts'es–bži–pa Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an appointed as his successor his own half–brother bCu–gñis–gsar–ma Grags–pa–śes–rab (1310–1370). He caused a great *sku 'bum* to be erected at gDan–sa T'el in honour of the deceased, a complicated affair because of the difficulties in the geomantical determination of the site[173].

The funeral rites had been long and expensive; they also afforded a pretext to the Imperial Preceptor, who seemed most unwilling to go to the disturbed imperial capital, for turning back on his way, in order to be present at them. Eventually he had to be invited kindly but firmly to proceed at last on his voyage[174]. He arrived at the capital early in 1362, only to die there in the tenth month of the same year; he was the last Imperial Preceptor at the Mongol court[175].

On this occasion Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an clarified his position in front of the permanent imperial representatives in Tibet. The officials of the *hsüan–wei ssu* were informed that "you continue to say that, since *slob dpon* Si–tu–ba (i.e. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an) has the greater power, there is no scope for your activity. If things are so, you should give back to the *yüan shih* (the imperial envoy) your tiger–head [button] and your seal; I myself by virtue of my black hand–sign (*t'el rtse nag pos*) having arranged for the postal personnel as far as Sog, shall take care that there should be no hindrance whatever. If things are not so, as to the official duties that are in your resort concerning the service to the *yüan shih*, you

[171] *GYANTSE*, 12a–b (= *TPS*, 663). The appointment as *ñe gnas c'en po* (colloquially *naṅ c'en*) was confirmed by the emperor in 1364.

[172] *LANG*, 718–721. On 5th March, 1359, the Karma–pa met prince Sangaśiri (probably the same person) at Bya–k'a in Amdo; *KARMA*, 178a.

[173] *LANG*, 722–728, 740–754.

[174] *LANG*, 722–734.

[175] *GBYT*, II, 28a–29a. Nearing the capital, he encountered the Karma–pa, who was returning home; *KARMA*, 181b; *HD–2*, 120. After his death the emperor invited to court Bla–ma Dam–pa bSod–nams–rgyal–mts'an, perhaps with the intention of appointing him Imperial Preceptor; but the Lama turned down the invitation; *SKDR*, 120a.

must perform them with no harm ensuing to ecclesiastical and lay subjects. This was intimated exactly and widely to all" [176]. This somewhat contemptuous emphasis on the irrelevance of the normal routine duties of the Yüan officialdom in Tibet, as compared with the effective power of P'ag-mo-gru, shows that by 1360 actual authority of the Mongol government in Central Tibet had waned. Henceforward the outward trappings of the *hsüan-wei ssu* were maintained, but that body became an empty shell without real contents, although the titles of its members were used by Tibetan noblemen for many years to come.

The P'ag-mo-gru-pa regime was the expression of a conscious return to the purely Tibetan tradition. An outward sign of this policy was the forcible expulsion of all the "quasi-Mongols" (*Hor 'dra'*; i.e. Tibetans who had accepted Mongol dress, customs and language) residing in Sa-skya and elsewhere [177]. We cannot, however, expatiate here on Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's reforms.

Just before the departure of the Imperial Preceptor another prominent person appeared at gDan-sa T'el and sNe'u-gdoṅ. As usual, our text gives no name, but employs only the double title of *slob dpon c'en po* and of *dbaṅ*. He was received with adequate honours, both because he was the bearer of an imperial *'ja' sa* and because he was a "scion of the illustrious Sa-skya family" [178]. This helps us in identifying him with Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1336-1376) [179], the second son of the Pai-lan prince Kun-dga'-legs-pa'i-'byuṅ-gnas-rgyal-mts'an and younger brother of the new Imperial Preceptor; we know from other sources that he wore those very titles of *slob dpon c'en po* and *dbaṅ*, because of his origin and because he was famous as a great master of Yoga. Since 1354 he had lived with his brother in the new castle of sTag-ts'aṅ rDzoṅ-k'a, which the emperor in 1360 granted to him in sole ownership. The same imperial edict of 1360 appointed him as the fourth (and last) prince of Pai-lan and gave him the customary title of *t'ung-chih* of the right and left, the golden seal, the *t'o śu* of delegation and the mandate that placed him in authority "in the regions where the sun sets". Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an was

[176] *LANG*, 734-735.
[177] *LANG*, 720; *BRNT*, 105a.
[178] *LANG*, 736, 738.
[179] Cfr. Petech 1990, 261.

most emphatically resolved never to go abroad, because conditions in China had become too disturbed, alluding probably to the conflict between the Mongol factions which in 1359 had led to the sack and wholesale destruction of the summer capital Shang–tu. As to his role after 1360, we are told very vaguely that he displayed great activity in the field of both ecclesiastical and civil law (*k'rims gñis*). But his political influence was practically nil, in spite of his high connections (he had married the sister of the Byaṅ–pa *dpon c'en* Nam–mk'a'–brtan–pa). He lived at Sa–skya and at sTag–ts'aṅ rDzoṅ–k'a, in which latter place he died[180].

We may also add that his third son rNam–sras–rgyal–mts'an (1360–1408), although he never left Tibet, became at once a special protegé of the last Yüan emperor. When the boy was preparing to take his first monastic vows, Toγan Temür declared him to be equal to his eldest son (*bu'o c'e* or *sras c'e ba*) and granted him titles and ranks much higher than those usually pertaining to the Pai–lan princedom, including the establishment (*wang–fu*) reserved to the princes of the blood. But he never met his adoptive father and died at sMon–k'aṅ rTse–gdoṅ–rdzoṅ forty years after the end of the Yüan dynasty[181]. Indeed the Pai–lan princes never played that role of props of the Mongol domination which may have been expected of them.

The office of *dpon c'en* had become vacant either after the liberation or upon the death of rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po. His succession presents a knotty problem, as *LANG* pointedly avoids giving us clear information. In most of our other texts the third term of office of rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po is ignored, and after dBaṅ–brtson the list includes the following names (*HD–1*, *BA*, *DMS*): Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an, Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an (omitted in *DMS*), dPal–'bum, Blo–c'en. The sequence in *GBYT*, II, 42b, is different: after bSod–nams–dpal we find rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po for a second time as substitute (*ts'ab*) for Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an, then Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an, Blo–c'en, dPal–'bum. It seems at present impossible to unravel the tangle and I shall merely present the scanty bits of information available on these persons, Blo–c'en excepted.

[180] *GBYT*, II, 29a; *SKDR*, 175a–b.

[181] For more details see Petech 1990, 261–262.

The career of Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an down to 1356 has been sketched out above (pp. 120/1). He is said to have been appointed *dpon c'en* of dBus–gTsaṅ at the age of thirty, and then in the Wood–Bird year 1345 he received the rank of *Ta Yüan kuo–shih* and the crystal seal[182]. It is possible that Wood–Bird may be a mistake for Fire–Bird 1357, but the fact remains that Bu–ston, who in 1351 imparted him religious tuition and gave him the religious name Rin–c'en–dpal–bzaṅ–po, calls him a *dpon c'en*[183]. He was a disciple of Dol–bu–pa Śes–rab–rgyal–mts'an (1292–1361), on whose advice he completed and endowed the monastery of Byaṅ Nam–riṅs, and invited the famous scholar Bo–doṅ P'yogs–las–rnam–rgyal (1306–1386) to become its abbot[184]. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an had a poor opinion of him, and some verses of his *gsuṅ 'c'ems* attribute to him the responsibility for the downfall of Sa–skya power[185]. In 1364, still bearing the title of *dpon c'en*, he took part in the funeral ceremonies for Bu–ston[186], and in 1373 he tendered allegiance to the new Ming dynasty, as we shall see later.

rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po's son Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an is a pale figure, mentioned only in connection with the checkered career of his father. He was at first a secretary (*naṅ so*), then he was promoted chief secretary (*naṅ c'en*). His action during his father's imprisonment was not particularly effective. After the end of that affair, Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an adopted him as his son, a purely formal gesture. In 1358 he inherited the estate of Śaṅs mT'oṅ–smon, where he died at an unknown date[187]. Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an is always styled *slob dpon*, implying that he was a monk, at least in his early years. In *LANG* we find no trace of his appointment as *dpon c'en*. Only *GBYT* informs us that the *slob–dpon* Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an received the courtesy title (*miṅ*) of *dpon c'en*.

182) *BYANG*, 6a–b. Cf. *HT5D*, 66a (= *TPS*, 632).

183) *LBT*, 134.

184) *BA*, 778; BYANG, 6b; DCBT, 148b.

185) Quoted in *DSM*, 209.

186) *LBT*, 168. I do not think he can be identified with the *lha btsun* Rin–c'en–dpal on whose request the Bla–ma Dam–pa compiled the *GR*, as maintained by Sørensen, 63. The title *lha btsun* was normally reserved to the monks descending from the old Tibetan kings, and not from other royal families. The Byaṅ–pa claimed descent from the Mi–ñag rulers, not from the ancient Tibetan dynasty.

187) *LANG*, 534–535, 578–580, 669, 677–678, 793: GBYT, II, 76a and 79b–80a.

dPal-'bum (his family name is unknown) was an official in the imperial government. In 1346/7 he was posted in Tibet as a *chao-t'ao*. Then he went to Peking, from where he returned to Tibet in 1354 as a *daruγači*. In 1357 he was a *ñe gnas c'en po*[188]. In 1359 he asked Karma-pa Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje to bring to Tibet the bones of the Imperial Preceptor who had died the year before. On this occasion he is termed Sa-skya *dpon c'en*[189]. This was apparently an appointment on a caretaker basis, and in 1360 the matter came up for a final decision. The new *ti-shih* and the imperial *yüan-shih* on the eve of their final departure had a meeting near Lhasa with Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an and other officials. They intimated that, upon their own responsibility, they intended to confirm dPal-'bum as *dpon c'en* by handing out to him the official seal. They deemed the proposal quite safe, since dPal-'bum had delivered his son as hostage and taken a pledge to act according to the P'ag-mo-gru-pa's instructions. Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's reply is interesting from various points of view:

"'Since you Lama and your nephew, the councillors of Sa-skya and the whole *hsüan-wei ssu* have signed a letter of agreement (*k'a 'c'am gyi bca' rtse*), you cannot act against its terms. dPal-'bum cannot be a *dpon c'en* because he is not issued from the class (*rgyud*) of the disciples (*ñe gnas*) of Sa-skya; originally he was the tea-brewer (*gsol ja ba*) of dBaṅ-brtson; he is a partisan of the 'Bri-guṅ-pa and is the man of the *sgom-pa*; in his innermost heart he belongs to them. In the same manner as a minister of the sTod Hor (Čaγatai) cannot become a minister (*p'yiṅ saṅ*, Chin. *ch'eng-hsiang*) of the King of the East (the Yüan), so a disciple (*ñe gnas*) of the Sa-skya-pa cannot be subservient to the 'Bri-guṅ-pa. dPal-'bum shall not become a *dpon c'en*. This being the state of fact, choose between me and dPal-'bum. And they answered: 'We choose you'. Thus it was decided not to effect the transfer of the seal (*dam rtags*) of *dpon c'en*, and all those present, starting with the *yüan-shih*, were witness to this"[190].

This scene shows how complete had become the control of the P'ag-mo-gru-pa over the machinery and officialdom of the

[188] *LANG*, 383, 394, 532, 658.
[189] *KARMA*, 178b; *KPGT*, 490. Cf. HD-2, 116, where he is called simply *dpon*.
[190] *LANG*, 758-759.

old order; Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an could dispose at will of the highest office of Central Tibet. The political role of Sa–skya had indeed played out.

dPal–'bum having been excluded, who was to become *dpon c'en*? Our main source gives no further information and turns to other matters. As it is highly unlikely that Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an was ever a *dpon c'en*, I suggest that perhaps the office remained vacant for some months (or years) and then was given to Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an, who certainly held it in 1364. By that time it had lost all remnants of authority and prestige and soon became obsolete, although the official list gives some additional names. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's scornful verses quoted above (p. 132) are a sad but truthful epitaph to the decay and end of the top–level office in the Sa–skya government.

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an had been ill for some time. He had recovered, but age and a strenuous life were apparently starting to tell upon his robust frame. Thus it cannot be wondered if he thought his life–work to be done and began thinking of means to ensure its perpetuation through a smooth passage to worthy successors. We are not told how this decision matured in him; we know only how it was carried out, and this most important act is the last to be registered in his autobiography.

At some time in 1361 he sent Śes–rab–bkra–śis as his special envoy to the imperial court. His first (but not his main) task was to counter the hostile influence and pernicious slanders of Dharmakirti and of the attendants of the *ti–shih*, who accused Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an of being a rebel and an enemy of the Sa–skya–pa and to have ravaged the Lha–k'aṅ c'en–mo, turning it into a horse stable. Śes–rab–bkra–śis proved to be an able negotiator. He interviewed the prime minister and then was received in audience by the emperor, dispelled his suspicions and obtained a favourable decretation; the sovereign issued a *'ja' sa* appointing Śākya–rin–c'en, the second of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's three nephews, as the new *k'ri dpon* of P'ag–mo–gru and confirming all the estates, old and new, belonging to the myriarchy. As a personal reward, Śes–rab–bkra–śis was granted the estate of Brag–dkar. Upon his return home, the *'ja' sa* was formally proclaimed

at T'el, and Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an prepared to retire from the office of *k'ri dpon* after a tenure of almost forty years (1322–1361/2)[191]. Almost immediately, however, he reversed his decision. He had found out that Śākya–rin–c'en had an uncontrollable temper (*ma c'un pa*) and that his succession would cause opposition and confusion; apparently he had misjudged his nephew's fitness for such a heavy responsibility. Passing over the imperial decree, he decided to keep the office of *k'ri dpon* for himself, as long as his health permitted it[192]. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an retained power in his hands until his death on the 27th day of the tenth month of the Wood–Dragon year, corresponding to 20th November, 1364[193]. He was succeeded as *k'ri dpon* and as ruler of Central Tibet (*lha btsun*) by his eldest nephew Śākya–rgyal–mts'an (1341–1373), hitherto abbot of rTses–t'aṅ.

The autobiography of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an closes with a kind of comparative list of the most prominent persons, families and monasteries, together with short hints to his successor on how to deal with them. It is worthwhile to quote the words by which this cool and shrewd politician judged the shortcomings and the causes of the decay of the Sa–skya–pa and of the 'Bri–guṅ–pa, the two main factors of Tibetan history in the Yüan period. "Formerly the prestige of the 'Bri–guṅ–pa had expanded in the times of *sgom pa* Śākya–rin–c'en; but later the decay of their influence was a consequence of their manifold signs of greed and lawlessness. With the Sa–skya–pa too, the disciples (*ñe gnas*) were more powerful than the Lamas, the state servants (*dpon skya*) were more powerful than the high officials (*dpon*) and the women were the most powerful of all. Since the prestige of the Sa–skya–pa is now in such a ruinous state, you should take heed of its causes;

[191] *LANG*, 769–771; *HT5D*, 97b–98a (= *TPS*, 645).

[192] This information is supplied by Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's last will and testament (*Mya ṅan 'das c'uṅ žal c'ems*), written down during his last illness; *LANG*, Lhasa edition, 426.

[193] *DMS*, 210; *GYANTSE*, 14b (= *TPS*, 664). According to *GBYT*, II, 173a, he died in his 63rd year Fire–Dragon, a palpable mistake for Wood–Dragon. The date of 1373, found in BA, 218, and too often followed by Western scholars, is due to a misunderstanding by the translator. The Tibetan text (ṄA, 7a) actually refers to the death of Guśri–ba, i.e. of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's successor Guśri Śākya–rgyal–mts'an. But the risk of a misunderstanding is so high, that *DMS*, loc. cit., felt bound to caution the reader against it.

and if you wish this community of ours to remain intact and happy, all of you must avoid evil actions"[194].

In 1354 the risings in Central China had started, and fourteen years later the dynasty collapsed and the last emperor fled to Mongolia. It is difficult to guess how these events were viewed in Tibet. Although the Lamas must have realized that the golden days of lavish Mongol patronage had passed forever, we find nowhere a word of regret. The Tibetan texts merely state the bald fact that the last Yüan emperor had fled and that the new Ming dynasty had seized the throne. At the utmost, there was some fear (soon dispelled) that the war in China could led to an invasion of Tibet by Ming armies[195].

Still, we have adequate information on the switching of Sa-skya-pa and P'ag-mo-gru-pa allegiance (if this term is at all justified) to the new rulers of China. When the Yüan rule vanished, there was in Tibet an "acting *ti-shih*" called Nam-mk'a'-dpal-bzaṅ-po. On 16th January 1373 his envoys arrived at Nanking bearing tribute, whereupon he was granted the title of Chih-sheng Fo-pao Kuo-shih. He died at some time before 1381[196]. We do not know who had appointed him nor to which clan or sect he belonged; he was certainly not a member of the 'K'on family, because the genealogical tree of Sa-skya contains no member bearing the name Nam-mk'a' during those years[197].

The Sa-skya secular administration recognized the new regime in China when on 23rd February, 1373, Nam-mk'a'-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an, a former *kuo-kung* of the Yüan, came personally to the court at Nanking to beg for a fresh title[198]. Thus we meet for a last time with the Byaṅ-pa *dpon c'en*. Whether he had remained in office during all those years, or was out of office but still a prominent person in the government, is a question which must remain open; the Tibetan sources know nothing of his relations with the Ming.

194) *LANG*, 835–836.

195) *BRNT*, 154a.

196) *MSL*, Hung-wu, 77.4b and 79.1a.

197) The best candidate for identification would be Nam-mk'a'-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an (1333–1379), abbot of sTag-luṅ-t'aṅ, on whom see *BA*, 635–636. The dates too agree perfectly.

198) *MSL*, Hung-wu, 79.1a.

The 'K'on family followed suite. On 27 October 1373 the Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an and his nephew Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an (1344-1420) sent envoys to apply for a new jade seal; but they met with a refusal, because such a seal had already been conferred upon Nam-mk'a'-dpal-bzaṅ-po. It appears that Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an had tried to go personally to Nanking, but stopped in K'ams on account of local disturbances[199]. On 23rd August, 1374, envoys from him were received once more at court; this time he was granted the jade seal together with the title of *yüan shih*[200].

The P'ag-mo-gru-pa, i.e. Byaṅ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an's successor Śākya-rgyal-mts'an, had been confirmed by the Yüan emperor (1365) in the titles of Ta'i-si-tu, C'aṅ *kuo-kung* and *kuan-ting kuo-shih* with power over the three *c'ol-k'a*[201]. In 1372 his political importance was recognized and brought to the notice of the emperor by a Ming general engaged in the pacification of Amdo. The sovereign took the initiative of sending him an envoy, confirming his title of *kuan-ting kuo-shih* and granting him the jade seal[202]. The P'ag-mo-gru ruler reciprocated by sending to court his own father bSod-nams-bzaṅ-po carrying suitable presents of religious objects[203].

Some nobles, who used to receive their titles from the Mongols, carried out the switch-over during the four or five years following the downfall of the Yüan[204].

Henceforward the international relations of the rulers of Central Tibet were almost exclusively with the Ming, till in the late 16th century the Mongols reappeared on the scene in different circumstances but with similar final results.

[199] *MSL*, Hung-wu, 85.7a-b, and *SKDR*, 179b.

[200] *MSL*, Hung-wu, 91.4a.

[201] *HT5D*, 81b (= *TPS*, 638).

[202] *MSL*, Hung-wu, 73.4b.

[203] *MSL*, Hung-wu, 78.7a. Cf. *Ming-shih*, 331.9b (= *TPS*, 692).

[204] In 1367 the ruler of rGyal-rtse received from the emperor Toγan Temür the title of *yung-lo t'ai-fu ta ssu-t'u*, and it seems that his successor got confirmation and enhancement of it in the following years; *GYANTSE*, 17a and 22a (= *TPS*, 664).

Chapter VI.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

Two outstanding personalities open and close the Yüan period of Tibetan history, towering above the smaller figures in those colorful years: Sa–skya Paṇ–c'en and P'ag–mo–gru Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an.

Sa–skya Paṇḍita was generally acknowledged as a renowned scholar and a respected religious leader long before the Mongols appeared at the Tibetan horizon. When the dangerous emergency arose, his political flair enabled him to pick up the only possible way of dealing with the impending menace. Only his prestige made it possible to lay out and to impose on the clerics and noblemen of Tibet the course which saved the country from serious ravages, protected its religion and culture and at the same time placed his own school and family at the top of Tibetan society. Unluckily, he was by then too advanced in age to be able to carry to the end his political program. Of course it is idle to speculate about what would have been the outcome, had he been allowed some years more of life.

His death, coinciding with a radical change at the helm of the Mongol empire, very nearly ruined his work, as its continuation was left in the untried hands of his nephew, who at first enjoyed far less prestige in the eyes of the Mongols. Being still very young, long absent from his country and a pawn in Mongol hands, 'P'ags–pa had few possibilities of steering his own way in the tangled maze of politics, and his role was at first a passive one. It was Qubilai who, after some hesitation between several possibilities, chose him as his tool in the Tibetan question. In a way, 'P'ags–pa as a political figure was a creation of the great emperor, who had to impose him twice, by force of arms, on an unwilling or at the best sullen Tibet. His best trump was his intimate familiarity with the members of the imperial family, and above all with empress Čabui and the heir–apparent J̌ingim. Of course the religious policy of the emperor, with its preference for Buddhism in general and

for its Tibetan brand in particular, was to a certain extent fostered by the Sa–skya abbot. But we must give up the notion of 'P'ags–pa as an influential counsellor of the emperor in political matters, for which no evidence is extant. Even when residing in China, he was for long spells of time absent from the imperial capitals, residing at Lin–t'ao and other places; his possibilities of influencing the emperor by personal contacts were thus rather limited. In conclusion, the glowing portrait of 'P'ags–pa as a great religious leader and as a powerful counsellor of Qubilai in Buddhist matters, so dear to the Tibetan tradition, must be toned down somewhat.

Since we are speaking of Yüan – Sa–skya period of Tibetan history, a few concluding words concerning both poles of authority are in order. The Yüan administration always tried, on the whole with success, to maintain an overall control over Tibet. Only in the late fifties of the 14th century we begin to note a slackening, caused of course by the increasing weakness of the Peking government, torn by internal feuds and threatened by the mounting rebellion in the Yangtze valley. Its prestige as *fons honorum*, however, remained unimpaired till the very end.

As to the Sa–skya monastery and ruling family, they hardly ever took initiatives in political life. A part from the internal squabbles and an incurable weakness at the top (no abbot ever showed a forceful personality), one gains an impression of passivity of Sa–skya as an institution. Some of the *dpon c'en*, who were its secular arms, struggled manly against the rising power of P'ag–mo–gru. But they seemed to act more in the interests of the high nobility at large than as executors of a well–defined policy of the Sa–skya see.

Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an on the other side was a much more forceful and humanly interesting kind of personality. He started from scratch, being based only on a decayed and rather ramshackle myriarchy. In the course of forty years of struggle he built up step by step a position of power which eventually made him the unquestioned master of Central Tibet. His was a thorny way, beset with obstacles and interrupted by serious setbacks, which at times led him close to utter ruin. In surmounting all difficulties, the most striking qualities of his character were his dogged perseverance and his resiliency, coupled with great diplomatic skill and a

certain amount of flexibility. He was by no means a strategical genius, but had a good flair in the choice of his lieutenants in the field. In any case, his military career was not marked by great victories, but by an almost unceasing petty warfare, very often in the defensive, capable of wearing out every opponent less determined than he was.

He was quite a realist, aiming at the substance of power and not at its external trappings. Till almost the end he showed outward respect to the Sa–skya Lamas, and even in his last will (*žal 'c'ems*) he enjoined on his successor never to fail in this respect. He refrained from destroying their administration; he just deprived it of all real power and built up his own institutions besides and above the existing ones.

He followed more or less the same line in his relations with the imperial court. He asked for and obtained titles, not particularly exalted ones, got a tacit recognition of his overall authority in Tibet, but never rejected the imperial paramountcy; this policy was continued by his nephew and successor till the end of the Yüan dynasty. But while still observing these formalities, he succeeded in building up a new Tibetan state, reposing on a revival of the traditions of the old dynasty. This subject is outside the compass of the present study. Suffice it to remember that, since he considered the imposition of Mongol domination to have been marked by the introduction of Mongol law (*Hor k'rims*), one of his most important reforms was its abolition and the re–introduction of Tibetan law (*Bod k'rims*) in the form of a thorough reshaping of the old code going back to the monarchy. Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's code, repeatedly corrected and modified, remained substantially in use till our century.

And yet his life work was destined to last for barely eighty years, from 1354/58 to the rise of Rin–spuṅs in 1434. The cause of its comparatively swift decay was the pernicious dualism that arose when the religious see of gDan–sa T'el became a rival to the political centre of sNe'u–gdoṅ. During the whole of Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's life the abbot of P'ag–mo–gru, whether by voluntary choice or by compulsion, had kept himself strictly within the limits of the religious sphere. But after Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an's death his nephews, being more ambitious or less able, did not follow this example, with harmful effects in the long run.

In the background of the events of the 13th and 14th century were the social forces, which in a country like Tibet were limited to the clergy and the aristocracy; a situation that did not substantially change till 1951. In Tibet, as in some European countries, the clergy felt no qualms in calling in a foreign prince (as the 3rd and the 5th Dalai–Lamas did) or to accept him gladly (like 'P'ags–pa and the 7th Dalai–Lama). The nobility, at least in some instances, tried to avoid foreign intervention and to maintain their privileges by their own forces; so did such leaders as Byaṅ–c'ub–rgyal–mts'an and, four centuries later, P'o–lha–nas, although the latter was confronted with a non–Chinese dynasty in its prime (the Ch'ing) and not with one tottering to its end like the Yüan. Anyhow, the link between the two classes was so close and their interests were so intertwined, that a clash between the two was unthinkable. Nor was there any possibility of an anti–foreign or anti–feudal movement from below like the one which broke out in Central China and swept away both the Mongols and the privileged position of the Buddhist monks.

As a last consideration we are entitled to ask, what kind of traces the Mongol paramountcy left in Tibet. Broadly speaking, the most permanent effect was a lasting feeling of the desirability of a central government, or as a second best a strong power able to represent a pivot of unity between the various autonomous units (as was the case with P'ag–mo–gru and later with the Dalai–Lama's government), or at the lowest limit a political element primus inter pares, but stronger than each single secular or ecclesiastical chiefship (such as Rin–spuṅs and gTsaṅ–pa). Never again the fragmentation and total lack of a central power, which had characterized the centuries from the 10th to the early 13th, would be felt as a normal and natural situation. On a more material plane, some remnants of Mongol institutions, like the *'u–lag*, continued in Tibet till recent time. The same can be said for some Mongol titles, till they were replaced in the 18th century by Manchu ones.

Tables

Qayan of the Mongols, after 1260 also Yüan emperors of China

Činggis Qan	1206–1227
(regency of Tului)	1227–1229
Ögödei	1229–1241
(regency of Töregene)	1241–1246
Güyük	1246–1248
(regency of Oγul Qaymiš)	1248–1251
Möngke	1251–1259
Qubilai (Shih–tsu)	1260–1294
Temür Öljeitü (Ch'eng–tsung)	1294–1307
(regency of Ayurbarwada)	1307
Qaišan (Külük Qaγan, Wu–tsung)	1307–1311
Ayurbarwada (Buyantu Qaγan, Jên–tsung)	1311–1320
Śidibala (Ying–tsung)	1320–1323
Yisün Temür (T'ai–ting ti)	1323–1328
Arakibag	1328
Toγ Temür	1328–1329
Qośila (Ming–tsung)	1329
Toγ Temür (Wen–tsung)	1329–1332
Irinčinbal (Ning–tsung)	1332
Toγan Temür (Shun–ti)	1332–1368[1371]

Sa–skya abbots (gdan sa c'en po)

Sa–skya Paṇḍita Kun–dga'–rgyal–mts'an	1216–1251
'P'ags–pa Grags–pa–rgyal–mts'an	1251–1280
Dharmapālarakṣita	1280–1282
(Śar–pa) 'Jam–dbyaṅs–rin–c'en–rgyal–mts'an	1286–1303
bZaṅ–po–dpal	[1298]1306–1323
mK'as–btsun Nam–mk'a'–legs–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an	1325–1341(?)

'Jam-dbyaṅs-don-yod-rgyal-mts'an	1341–1344
Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an	1344–1347
Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an	1347–1365(?)
Kun-dga'-rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an	1365–1399(?)

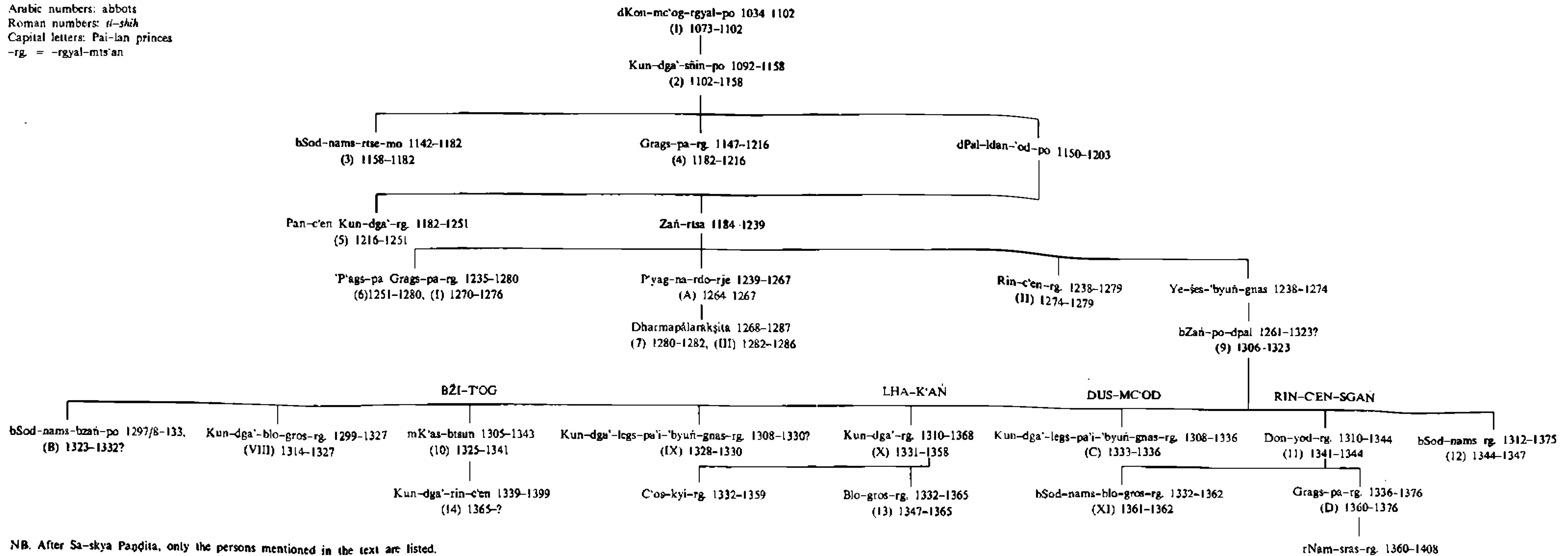
Imperial Preceptors (ti-shih)

'P'ags-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an	1270–1274
Rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an	1274–1279 (or 1282)
Dharmapālarakṣita	1282–1286
(Śar-pa) Ye-śes-rin-c'en	1286–1291
(K'aṅ-gsar-ba) Grags-pa-'od-zer	1291–1303
(Śar-pa) 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rin-c'en-rgyal-mts'an	1304–1305
(K'aṅ-gsar-ba) Saṅs-rgyas-dpal	1305–1314
Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an	1314–1327
Kun-dga'-legs-pa'i-'byuṅ-gnas-rgyal-mts'an	1328–1330
(Rin-c'en-grags)	1329–1330
Kun-dga'-rgyal-mts'an	1331–1358
bSod-nams-blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an	1361–1362

dPon c'en

Śakya-bzaṅ-po	ca. 1264–1270
Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po	ca. 1270–1275
Žaṅ-btsun	ca. 1275–?
P'yug-po sGaṅ-dkar-ba	?–1280
Byaṅ-c'ub-rin-c'en	1281–1281/2
Kun-dga'-gžon-nu	1282–?
gŽon-nu-dbaṅ-p'yug	?–1288
Byaṅ-c'ub-rdo-rje	ca. 1289
Ag-len rDo-rje-pal	ca. 1290–1298
gŽon-nu-dbaṅ-p'yug (2nd time)	1298
Legs-pa-dpal	1298–ca. 1305
Seṅ-ge-dpal	–
'Od-zer-seṅ-ge	ca. 1315–1317

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE 'K'ON FAMILY



Kun–dga'–rin–c'en	–
Don–yod–dpal	–
Yon–btsun Grags–pa–dar	–
'Od–zer–seṅ–ge (2nd time)	?–1328/9
rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po	1328/9–1333
dBaṅ–p'yug–dpal	1333–1337
bSod–nams–dpal	1337–1344
rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po (2nd time)	1344–1347
dBaṅ–p'yug–brtson–'grus	1347–ca. 1350
rGyal–ba–bzaṅ–po (3rd time)	ca. 1350–1356 or 1358
Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an	ca. 1357
dPal–'bum (acting)	?–1360
Nam–mk'a'–bstan–pa'i–rgyal–mts'an (2nd time?)	ca. 1364

CHINESE CHARACTERS

Ao–lung–ta–la	嗸 籠 答 剌
Cha–yu–wa	札 由 瓦
cha–fu	劄 付
Ch'a–li–pa	搽 里 八
Chao–A–ko–p'an	趙 阿 哥 潘
chao–mo	照 磨
chao–t'ao shih	招 討 使
chen–fu	鎮 撫
Chen–hsi Wu–ching *wang*	鎮 西 武 靖 王
cheng–li ssu	徵 理 司
ch'eng–hsiang	丞 相
Ch'i *wang*	岐 王
Chia–mu–wa	加 麻 瓦
Chia–wa–tsang–pu	加 瓦 藏 卜
ch'ien–hu	千 户
ch'ien–yüan	檢 院
chih sheng fo–pao kuo–shih	至 聖 佛 寶 國 師
ching–li (low official)	經 歷
ching–li (cadastral survey)	經 理
chu–wang	諸 王
Ch'u–hou–chiang–pa	初 厚 江 八
ch'u–mi yüan	樞 密 院
Ch'u–mi	樞 密
chuan–yin	轉 運
fen–ti	分 地
fen–yüan	分 院
Fu–chiao *wang*	輔 教 王
fu–shih	副 使
Hai–yün	海 雲

Ho–li	合理
Ho–li–t'ê	合里解
Ho Wei–i	賀惟一
Hsi–an *wang*	西安王
Hsi–fan	西番
Hsi–p'ing *wang*	西平王
hsing chung–shu sheng	行中書省
hsing ta ssu–nung ssu	行大司農司
hsüan–cheng yüan	宣政院
hsüan–wei (ssu) shih	宣慰司使
Hu–pi	忽必
Huang–li–t'a–êrh	晃里答兒
I–ch'ih–li	亦只里
I–lin–chen–ch'i–lieh–ssu	亦憐真乞烈思
i–ling	驛令
I–ssu–ta	亦思答
kua–k'an	括勘
kuan–chün	管軍
kuan–kou	管勾
kuan–ting kuo–shih	灌頂國師
kung–tê shih ssu	功德使師
Kuo–an	國安
kuo–kung	國公
Kuo–pao	國寶
kuo–shih	國師
li–pu	吏部
li–suan	理算
ling–chih	令旨
lu	路
Mi–êrh–chün	迷兒軍
Na–li–su–ku–êrh–sun	納里速古魯孫
Na–mo	那摩
Nien–chen–ch'i–la–ssu	輦真乞剌思
Nien–chen–ka–la–ssu	輦真哈剌思

Pai–lan *wang*	白蘭王
p'ing–chang (cheng–li)	平章政
Po–mu–ku–lu	伯木古魯
Pu–êrh–pa	卜兒八
pu–tao ssu–kuan	捕盜司官
Sa–la	撒剌
san–lu chün–ming wang–fu	三路軍民王傅
san–lu tu yüan–shuai	三路都元帥
Sang–ko	桑哥
shang–shi sheng	尚書省
shih–chiao tsung–t'ung so	釋教總統所
So–nan–kuan–pu	瑣南管卜
Ssu–t'a–lung–la	思答籠剌
ssu–t'u	司徒
Su–êrh–chia–wa	速兒麻加瓦
Sung–tu–ssu	宋都思
Ta–lung	答籠
ta–shih kuan	大使管
ta ssu–t'u	大司徒
Tai–mu–tê	蔕木解
Tan–li *t'o–t'o–ho–sun*	擔里脫脫禾孫
T'ang–pu–chih–pa	湯卜赤八
tao	道
t'i–ling	提領
ti–shih	帝師
t'ien–ti li–kuan–min wan–hu	田地里管民萬戶
t'o–ling	託令
t'o–shu	託書
ts'an–cheng	參政
Ts'an–ma I–ssu–chi–ssu–pu Ch'ang–ch'u–i–ssu–tse–pu	參馬亦思吉思卜長出亦思宅卜
tsung–chih yüan	總制院
tu–shih	都事
tu–shih kuan	都事管

tu yüan-shuai (fu)	都元帥
T'u-fan	吐蕃
tuan-shih kuan	斷事官
t'ui-kuan	推官
t'ung-ch'ien	同僉
t'ung-chih	同知
wan-hu (fu)	萬户府
Wu-ssu-tsang	烏思藏
yen-ch'ing ssu	延慶司
Yü *wang*	豫王
yüan-p'an	院判
yüan-shih	院使
yüan-shuai	元帥

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